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Sustainable Development in Tanzanian Urban Areas

Leopold Emmanuel Chaligha

**A dissertation submitted to the University of Bristol in accordance with the
requirements of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Faculty of Social
Sciences in the Department of Politics**

Submitted: March 2007

Abstract

The main focus of this thesis is how urban development in Tanzania can be sustained. It argues that the debate on sustainable development has to move beyond the traditional focus on environment and economic growth to include issues of quality of life, social justice and sustainability of communities. It examines local government in Tanzania and its role in the development process, the policies employed and the local institutions that have been used to implement them.

The empirical work is focusing on the municipal councils of Kinondoni in Dar-es-Salaam, Moshi and Iringa, especially the poor urban communities governed by these municipalities. Expectations of the municipal councils have risen because recent local government reforms increased their autonomy to shape the direction of development in their areas. The research question is: how can sustainable urban development be achieved in Tanzania? A combination of qualitative and quantitative research methods, are used and interviews conducted in the three municipalities. It examines how sustainable development has been adopted by the main national development policies and how the local government reforms have influenced urban progress. The study analyses how the structures and institutions have been used to implement policies, resource flow and choice of development projects. Then it analyses the views and interactions among officials and between them and urban residents and how this affect policy implementation.

The thesis argues that good policies are necessary, but alone they are not sufficient for achieving sustainable development because the institutions and mechanism of implementation could determine the outcome. The comparisons between Kinondoni, Moshi and Iringa show, first, how these aspects play differently in different locations (thus challenging any countrywide generalisations about Tanzania's development path) and second, how a balanced interaction between concerned institutions and communities will be necessary for the success of Tanzania's commitment to sustainable urban development.

299 Words

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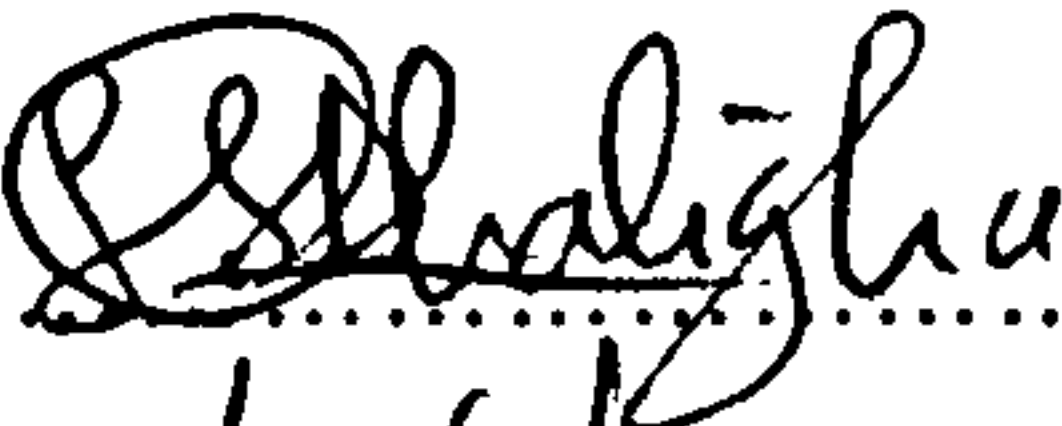
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AUTHORS DECLARATION

I declare that the work in this dissertation was carried out in accordance with the Regulations of the University of Bristol. The work is original except where indicated by special references in the text and no part of the dissertation has been submitted for any other degree.

Any views expressed in the dissertation are those of the author and in no way represent those of the University of Bristol.

The dissertation has not been presented to any other University for examination either in the United Kingdom or overseas.

Signed:.....
Date:.....15/06/2007.....

Foreword

This study is addressing a relatively new idea in development studies, that is sustainable urban development, and therefore it employs the tools of different disciplines. Based on theory, policy and practice of development, the thesis seeks to harmonize the new concept with the political economy of development and the detailed ethnographical data obtained through interviews. It acknowledges the fact that development is a process that can best be understood, and therefore encouraged, through the lenses of several different disciplines. It is not a thesis in economics, politics, social anthropology or cultural studies, though it draws from the rich knowledge within these disciplines. Reference is made in it to some of the literature in the various disciplines, but I am well aware that an economist, a political scientist or a social anthropologist would have written a different kind of thesis, with a different emphasis, and a preponderance of different secondary sources. One cannot focus solely on any one of these academic subjects and still present in detail the diversity of urban development theories, without distorting the value of the development studies practice. It is though a pragmatic use of the disciplines that the specific and yet complex study area as well as the social economic reality of urban Tanzania could best be grasped. That is the advantage but also a limitation imposed by multidisciplinary studies and a danger that was recognised in the rhetoric of the Research Assessment Exercise. It is also necessary to note that, while considering and analysing some of the specific experiences and opinions of respondents in Tanzania, some terms such as accommodationist, interventionist, informal economy, and local government, urban poor and local communities are used without a lengthy discussion of their provenance and development. Furthermore, there are inevitably various limitations imposed by a country specific study and the choice of particular areas within a country's proliferation of policies. These constraints require awareness that some of the macro and micro aspects of sustainable development may not be fully captured by my study. Nevertheless, the thesis asserts that it is not possible to analyse contemporary change in the developing countries without borrowing from many disciplines, and using the disparate contribution of these disciplines in such a way as to help policy makers in their task of creating and implementing sustainable development.

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Abbreviations

ASP	Afro Shirazi Party
CCM	Chama Cha Mapinduzi (Tanzanian Revolutionary Party)
CHADEMA	Chama Cha Demokrasia na Maendeleo
CUF	Civic United Front
DANIDA	Danish International Development Agency
Dar	Dar es Salaam
DCC	Dar es Salaam City Commission
DfID	Department for International Development in Britain
EPM	Environmental Planning and Management Process
HABITAT	United Nations Centre for Human Settlement
HIPC	Highly Indebted Poor Countries
HMI	Halmashauri ya Manispaa ya Iringa
HMK	Halmashauri ya Manispaa ya Kinondoni
HMM	Halmashauri ya Manispaa ya Moshi
IDA	International Development Association
IIED	International Institute for Environment and Development
IMC	Iringa Municipal Council
IMF	International Monetary Fund
LGL	Local Government Laws
LGRA	Local Government Reform Agenda
LGRS	Local Government Reform Strategy
MLHSD	Ministry of Lands and Human Settlements Development
NCCR-MAGEUZI	National Convention for Construction and Reform
NCDP	National Community Development Policy
NEC	National Executive Committee
NEP	National Environment Policy
NGO	Non Governmental Organisation
NHSP	National Human Settlement Policy
PCP	People's Convention Party
NLD	National League for Democracy
NPES	National Poverty Eradication Strategy
PDP	Democratic Party
PRSP	Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper
PSRP	Public Service Reform Programme
SDP	Sustainable Dar es Salaam Programme
SIP	Sustainable Iringa Programme
SKP	Sustainable Kinondoni Programme
SMP	Sustainable Moshi Programme
TADEA	Tanzania Democratic Alliance Party
TANU	Tanganyika African National Union
TLP	Tanzania Labour Party
TPP	Tanzania People's Party
UDP	United Democratic Party
UN	United Nations
UNCDF	United Nations Capital Development Fund
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNEP	United Nations Environment Programme
UNFPA	The United Nations Population Fund
UPC	Uganda People's Congress
WB	World Bank

PART ONE

Introduction

Urban development in Tanzania has become an important area for study as a result of the rapid increase in population and urban poverty in recent years. These trends have brought new problems at many levels in urban areas and various steps have been taken by politicians to resolve them, some piecemeal and ad hoc in response to specific problems, and others attempting to take more comprehensive approaches towards urban development. This thesis is focusing on sustainable urban development which proposes strong social policies¹ and an efficient implementation regime to support and encourage the progress of urban areas in Tanzania. The literature review suggests that the trend still shows increasing urban poverty. It will conduct a thorough exploration of the question of sustainable urban development identify which policy approaches are most effective, and in that way suggest which are the policy choices through which sustainable urban development could be made a reality in Tanzania. The thesis will examine the concept of sustainable development within two frameworks. First will be the national and international factors that provide the context that influences development in Tanzania. This will include the presentation of the research problem, analysis of the concept of sustainable development and a summary of rapid urbanisation both global and in Tanzania. It will be argued that there are global factors that are affecting urban development in Tanzania, but the most important factors for sustainable urban development in the country are local issues of policy, implementation, and interactions within the local government and with their residents.

¹ . Social policy has also attracted urban researchers' attention. According to the Oxford Dictionary, a policy is defined as a "plan of action" or a "statement of ideals, adopted by a government, political party, business etc" (Crowther J. et al, 1995, p.893). For Tim Blackman, the statement of ideals is understood to be a frame of action to which decision-makers refer in the process of making development choices. Thus for him, "a policy is essentially a frame of reference for decision-making" (Blackman, 1995, p. 125).

This will be followed by a presentation of the research methodology showing how the research problem will be engaged with. It will be argued that a combination of methodologies is essential in order to grasp and present a critical and meaningful account of the social relations within the case study areas. This will be followed by an analysis of the very ambitious policies adopted by Tanzania recently. A background to the policies will be presented in order to understand their immediate context. It will be argued that, although there is a proliferation of good policies, they are not by themselves sufficient to bring about the desired change. Thus they have to be accompanied by a strong willingness and efficient implementation methods.

The second framework will be a presentation of the particular urban areas researched in Tanzania. . The empirical basis will be a comparison and contrast of three urban areas in Tanzania, which are the municipalities of Kinondoni, Moshi and Iringa. A critical analysis of various institutions within the municipalities will be presented. These will be examined in order to find the specific obstacles to sustainable urban development as they occur in different local situations. The interactions within these institutions among the officials and between them and the population will be carefully studied. The views of both official and the residents will be presented, compared and contrasted within each municipality. Then a comparison of the three municipal councils will be presented. My conclusions draw on this analysis to suggest possible solutions to those problems, in response to local needs, using the primary data obtained during the fieldwork.

Chapter 1. Issues in Sustainable Urban Development

This chapter will start by presenting the research question, the objectives and the importance of the study. Then the theoretical framework in which the thesis will analyse the development process in Tanzania will be presented. This part will include a critical analysis of the concept of sustainable urban development within the global context of rapid urbanisation. The regional variations in urbanisation and various trends of this phenomenon will be critically examined. The chapter will then analyse the urbanisation debate between those who favour the expansion of cities and are willing to accommodate this expansion rather than seeking government intervention to reduce the size of cities, and those who argue in favour of intervention measures. It will be argued that both approaches have valuable contributions. Therefore, a choice of what will be seen as the best in both schools according to local needs will be presented as the best way forward. Then it will be followed by an examination of the rapid global urbanisation, which has been taking place in the world for the last few decades. It will be argued that rapid urbanisation has increased pressure on the available resources, especially in the developing world, making urban development particularly difficult to sustain. Tanzania and Africa in general, will be the main focus of the analysis of the trends and effects of urbanisation and how these have affected urban development.

1. 1 The Research Problem

This study will provide an analysis of the research question: how could sustainable urban development be achieved in Tanzania? What do the authorities say they are doing? What do ordinary people think the authorities are doing? It will take into account the fact that the evolution of institutions and strategies that will ensure sustainability of urban development in developing countries, and particularly in Tanzania, will depend on the effective working of the local political system and especially the local government. For this reason, therefore, the research is expected to be a critical study of the existing urban policies and their effectiveness as well as failures in dealing with urban problems. In addition, the research will attempt to

harmonise the theory and practice of development with urban progress, whereby the theories deal with how development might take place, and the practice examines the actual living situation of the local communities in Tanzania where this study has been carried out. *The thesis will consider as effective those policies that are socially equitable, politically sustainable, economically viable and culturally adaptable.* The whole issue of urban development has to be seen, furthermore, within the urban transformation of cultural values where much of the rural social networks have been seriously eroded. It is within the context of rapid urbanisation and the fast growing incidence of urban poverty that this research seeks to examine sustainable urban development in Tanzania by exploring and understanding the official view and the views of the urban poor about the process of urban development and how to sustain it.

The objective of the research is, first, to study development policies made by the Central government and critically analyse how the implementation of policies affect the process of urban development. Second, it aims at a critical analysis of how interactions amongst the local government officials and between these institutions and the population, has been shaping the development path in Tanzania and explore the effect this bears on sustaining urban progress.

The significance of the research lies in the fact that it is one of the very few attempts to provide a critical analysis of sustainable urban development in Tanzania. The most substantive study to date is *Urbanising Tanzania, Issues, Initiatives and Priorities* edited by Ngware and Kironde, (2000) which provides a good analysis of the prevailing urban situation in Tanzania in aggregate, but not in terms of urban area by urban area. It mainly uses generalisation, and, as a result, has lost a number of significant aspects of the development process that are specific to small urban areas such as Iringa, or large cities such as Dar. Like many previous works, its main concern has not been sustainable development but rather the actual process of urbanisation.

A further value of this research lies in the fact that, while incorporating regional and global considerations, it will be embedded in the local context of the increasing social problems faced by the rapidly growing number of urban poor in Tanzania. This is important because

there has not previously been a comprehensive study of sustainable urban development in Tanzania and yet all the major policies such as Vision 2025,² Local Government Reform Programme (LGRP), environmental policy etc have adopted the concept as an aspect of the policies and a guiding principle in their implementation. Also there is a need to study alternative approaches to urban development. Campbell and Pons argued that very little has been written about urban development in Tanzania (Campbell and Pons, p. xii, 1987, see also Ngware & Kironde, 2000, p. 2). In the late 1990's a number of urban development works have been published including Lugalla (1995) and Ngware & Kironde (2000). However, thirteen years after Campbell and Pons called for researchers to work on urban development in Tanzania, and as recently as 2000, Ngware and Kironde attested: "It is clear that the future calls for a positive attitude into understanding and managing rapid urbanisation and development. Yet there is limited research that can inform policy makers into the current processes of urbanisation and the resulting popular action towards it" (Ngware & Kironde, 2000, p.2). They argued further that: "there is thus a need to carry out research into alternative and appropriate approaches towards this phenomenon of urbanisation" (Ngware & Kironde, 2000, p.2). The research will avoid the tendency to rely on and overemphasise the experiences and aspirations of policy makers or the urban poor alone, by making a critical evaluation of both. Moreover, a critical review of the development and urbanisation literature will also shed some light on the ongoing debate on sustainable urban development. The first literature is about sustainable development, the second, urbanisation, social policy and its impact in urban communities.

² . The Vision 2025 states that, "Ideally, a nation's development should be people-centred, based on sustainable and shared growth and be free from abject poverty". (The United Republic of Tanzania, 2000, p.5) This will be explored further in chapter 3 in connection with all the other main policies.

1. 2 Sustainable Development

1. 2. 1 The Concept of Sustainable Development

Sustainable development is a well established concept. It refers normally to the environment and implies a process by which current resources are not so depleted that the future generations will be worse placed than the present generation. In other words, it is concerned with continuity, renewal, stability and general improvement of living conditions (Starkey & Welford, 2001; Elkinton, 2000; Rasool, 1999; Elliot, 1999, p Escobar, 1995; Brundtland et al, 1987). The concept entered the international arena when it was used by the United Nations Conference on Human Environment, in Stockholm in 1972 (United Nations, 1972, p. 1), and gained impetus in 1980 when the “International Union for the Conservation of Natural Resources (IUCN)” presented the Global Conservation Strategy (Lele, 1991. 610). However it was not until 1987, when the United Nations World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED) gave one of the definitions that is used extensively. The report (also known as the Brundtland Report³) defined sustainable development as “development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs” (WCED, 1987, p. 43; see also, Brundtland et al, 1987, p.8). This definition has been challenged because of its ambiguity and the questions it raises about the definitions and measurements of the needs, be they for the contemporary or future generations. Most subsequent definitions of sustainable development gave little or no emphasis to the social dimension of sustainability.

³. The Brundtland Report was entitled "Our Common Future" but it is commonly known as the Brundtland Report because of the then World Commission's chairperson Gro Harlem Brundtland.

In 1991, Lele lamented that sustainable development was in the process of becoming a 'catch word' and a fashionable phrase for developers and international agencies for which they pay homage but offer no definition (Lele, 1991, p. 67). Lele saw the complexity of the concept and chose to define the two terms separately because there had been no academic consensus (Lele, 1991, p.9). In 1993, Esteva perceived development as an empty concept without meaning and thus one to be dismantled from any discourse about human progress (Esteva, 1993, p. 11).⁴ Esteva argued that, "the word always implies a favourable change, a step from simple to complex, from inferior to superior, from worse to better" (Esteva, 1993, p. 10). On the contrary it is argued here that development as a concept could be either positive or negative change; thus it is possible to conceptualize a favourable or unfavourable development.

Initially, development was understood in terms of economic growth. In the 1970s new definitions saw the concept of development become more comprehensive, because the emphasis was "not only economic growth *per se* as in earlier decades but also the distribution of the benefits of growth" (Escobar, 1995, p. 5). This, argues Escobar, was known as the "basic human needs approach" and included issues of equitable development, women empowerment, as well as opportunity for all to overcome social and economic problems. Although environmental concerns were important in the late 1970s, it is only in the 1980s that ecological issues joined the mainstream of development discourse. According to Escobar, "in the 1980s, the objectifying gaze was turned not to people but to nature - or, rather, the environment - resulting in the by now infamous discourse of sustainable development" (Escobar, 1995, p.155).

⁴ . For Esteva, development is an empty concept that does not correspond with reality. He believed it was invented. He does not see that concepts are not normally invented but rather abstracted from reality. It could be argued that a concept has been invented if after being abstracted from reality it is given a completely new meaning. For further information about Esteva's concept, see 'Development' in The Development Dictionary (London: Zed Books, 1993) pp. 6-25.

According to Elliot, “literally, sustainable development refers to maintaining development over time” (Elliot, 1999, p.6). Stren went further and conceptualised “development as a process of enhancing control over the social, economic and natural environment so as to improve the quality of life for all people in a given country or region” (Stren, 1994, p14). Recently, however, the social aspect of sustainable development has gained importance in development thinking (Rasool, 1999, pp. 17 & 97; Starkey & Welford, 2001, p. xxix and Elkinton, 2001, p.20). While Rasool argues the social case for sustainability from the educational and literacy perspective, Elkinton gives a business perspective demonstrating that “increasingly, we include social justice in a ‘triple bottom line’ along with economic prosperity and environmental quality” (Elkinton, 2001, p. 20). Furthermore, Rasool argued in support of the Brundtland Report’s definition of sustainable development, giving an interpretation that focuses on the social implications of this complex concept. According to her, the decisions concerning the nature of development should be made only after gathering information concerning the needs and aspirations of the people whose lives will be impacted when the decisions are enforced. In the case of urban development this implies that the views of the urban poor have to be taken into consideration when decisions for the progress of their local urban area are made. Rasool argued that:

Central to this view of development is the responsibility that we all share in shaping the world of the future. If we accept this proposition then we must acknowledge that the ways and means, by which societal choices and decisions are made about the nature of development, have greater chances of success if they are informed by the people whose lives it will affect now and in the future (Rasool, 1999, p.17).

These ideas are central to the arguments in support of social sustainability and they are based on a conviction that lack of access to basic needs for the poor excludes them from the development process and denies them the possibility of making valuable contributions to the efforts being made to maintain progress over time. Rasool’s main concern has been literacy for sustainable development. She argues further that the very social-cultural basis of development might be undermined if an equitable and coherent education system is not created to empower people with skills through which they can improve their quality of life (Rasool, 1999, p.96-97). For Starkey and Welford, ‘sustainable development’ basically refers to the kind of social and

economic progress that is morally justifiable. “For if it is anything, sustainable development is above all a moral concept - a concept, which seeks to define a development, which is fair and just” (Starkey and Welford, 2001, p. xxix). Whether or not the concept can be so narrowed, there is no doubt that a strong case has been made in support of social aspects of sustainable development, which needs as much attention as environmental and economic aspects.

1. 2. 2 Sustainable Urban Development

In recent years this idea, which has an essentially rural and natural resources bias, has been developed to focus exclusively on urban areas. Urban sustainable development entered the development discourse in the 1990s and especially during the Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro, UN Conference on Environment and Development⁵ (UNEP, 1992). This called for the involvement of all communities in the process of sustainable development through the local governments (Barton, 2000, p. 6). If one takes development to mean maintaining a favourable change as mentioned above, then sustainable development has to be the process of maintaining the favourable change that enables people to improve their quality of life over a long period of time in a given urban area, be it in a developing country such as Tanzania or in the developed world. What must be different are the strategies and policies for achieving sustainable development because these will depend on the prevailing situation in the local context. “In practice, the objective of moving towards becoming a more sustainable city needs to be set in the context of a broader sustainable society, and related to its contribution to global sustainable

⁵ . Agenda 21’s preamble stated that: Humanity stands at a defining moment in History. We are confronted with a perpetuation of disparities between and within nations, a worsening of poverty, hunger, ill health and illiteracy, and the continuing deterioration of the ecosystems on which we depend for our well-being. However, integration of environment and developments concerns and the greater attention to them will lead to the fulfilment of basic needs, improved living standards for all, better protected and managed ecosystems and a safer, more prosperous future. No nation can achieve this on its own; but together we can – in a global partnership for sustainable development (UNEP, 1992, p. 1).

development” (Haughton & Hunter, 1994, p.27). A sustainable society is one in which people not only have the right to be involved in deciding the nature of development in their local area, but also which actually gives them the chance to exercise that right.

The sustainability discourse has given great importance to environmental problems such as pollution and dangerous working conditions, which have been reducing the quality of life for many urban dwellers in Africa and many other developing countries. These problems have been named “the brown agenda” (Drakakis-Smith, 2000, p. 82). According to Drakakis-Smith, there are three factors that should not be overlooked in analysing the problems of sustainability related to the ‘brown agenda’. “First, there is the nature of the urbanisation process itself - the rate and scale of growth, together with the degree of concentration of the population. Even quite small settlements can produce intense development problems” (Drakakis-Smith, 2000, p.82). For example the rapid urbanisation in Tanzania, and in particular in Dar Es Salaam, left about 70% of the city’s urban dwellers with no choice but to live in unplanned settlements. The second factor is the natural ecosystem and location of the urban area. For example, Moshi is located near Mt Kilimanjaro and thus is surrounded by rich agricultural hinterlands, which have contributed to its prosperity. The third factor is the level of development and how this process itself is taking place, whereby the higher the income or level of development the easier for the local actors and authorities to deal with the urban problems. However, Drakakis-Smith rightly argues that the success in responding to the pressures created by development problems “depends on the motivation and capacity of the local government to recognise and to respond to increasingly brown agendas” (Drakakis-Smith, 2000, p. 83).

This process of responding to the problems of sustainability in urban areas demands the establishment of development partnerships between the public and private sector (Diouf, 2001). The partnership of development has to include sharing ideas, consultation and participation in prioritising development issues, policy formulation and drawing guidelines for implementation. Taking the sustainability debate into the urban world of business, Murphy and Bendell have

concluded that “sustainable development may ultimately depend on the transformation of local, national and global policy processes in order to challenge business to accept culpability for the environmental and social problems it has helped to create” (Murphy & Bendell, 2001, p. 309). Indeed sustainable development goes beyond the current environmental strategies, which according to Hart,

consist largely of piecemeal projects aiming at controlling or preventing pollution. Focusing on sustainability requires putting business strategies to a new test. Taking the entire planet as the context in which they do business, companies must ask whether they are part of the solution to social and environmental problems or part of the problem” (Hart, 2001, p. 12).

Projecting her convictions about the future of sustainable development, Elliot rightly emphasised the social dimension of sustainability. She attested that “in summary, sustainable development in the future will require a commitment to overcoming poverty through a focus on the welfare issues of the poorest sectors of society, particularly in the developing countries” (Elliot, 1999, p. 47). Policies formulated in response to this must be, first, politically acceptable, and second, economically viable. That is because, if the electorate does not accept the policies, whether formulated by the local government or national government, they might not comply fully with them and in extreme cases they may protest directly, which is not uncommon in urban areas even in developed countries (Hyden, 1992, p.8; Bratton & Van de Walle, 1992, p.31). Protests may lead to political instability, which is undesirable not simply because it would be counter-effective to the local efforts for sustainable development, but also because it would discourage local and foreign investors, thus diminishing the very possibility of making progress.

Only viable economic policies that are accepted by the local authorities and the electorate will help to bring urban sustainable development. In Rakodi’s words, “urban economic development is a pre-requisite both to provide a base for the generation of revenue for local government to fulfil its responsibilities for service delivery and regulation, and as a means of reducing poverty by generating jobs and economic opportunities” (Rakodi: 2000, p. 9). Yet sustainability has begun to enter a new stage where social aspects are considered alongside economic and environmental components in the development process (Haughton & Hunter,

1994). Economic growth is necessary for sustainable development, because it helps to provide the required human and material resources needed to alleviate poverty, and to protect the environment, as long as the means for achieving that growth are not themselves detrimental to the very basis of social sustainability. The Brundtland report argued for equitable growth:

Meeting essential needs requires not only a new era of economic growth for nations in which the majority are poor, but an assurance that those poor get their fair share of resources required to sustain that growth. Such equity would be aided by political systems that secure effective citizen participation in decision making and by greater democracy in international decision making (Brundtland et al, 1987, p.8).

It has been argued further that sustainability requires changes locally as well as in the international political and economic organisations, so that the available resources will be used to meet the needs of those who are poor. Haughton and Hunter argued that:

Sustainability is said to require a new political economy, one which will involve fundamental changes in international development, changes which prioritise the needs of the world's poor and which challenge the right to polarised standards of living which favour rich nations and individuals" (Haughton & Hunter, 1994, p.21).

This line of argument, good as it seems, may not be very realistic given the strong opposition from the developed nations and individuals who wish to put their interests at the centre of any development agenda locally and globally. Nevertheless, if sustainable urban development is to be achieved, at least some aspects of this argument will need to be considered, by making sure that local urban strategies have a national backing and these go beyond the national level to incorporate global changes.

Participation increases the government's legitimacy as well as that of the local authorities. It also increases the prospects of sustainable development. In a paper produced by the United Kingdom's Department of the Environment, Transport and the Regions (DETR), it is well argued that, "real sustainable change will not be achieved unless local people are in the driving seat right from the start. Successful cities are founded on participative democracy" (DETR, 2000, p.8). Being in the driving seat implies that those involved in decision-making value people's needs and aspirations and that there will be proper consultation involving all the main

local actors in the process. For Gilchrist, sustainability will be achieved when communities are well connected and have diversity of ideas and solutions to their problems (Gilchrist, 2000).

Because they are familiar with their problems, this process will help communities identify areas that are perceived as priorities for sustainable development. Local needs may also demand local actions, thus the best way to make development sustainable is to ensure local communities assume leading roles in carrying out their objectives.

Integration in providing public services is essential in attempts to cater for all the interrelated needs for urban dwellers. "That is why moving towards more mixed and sustainable communities is important to many of our plans for improving the quality of urban life" (DETR, 2000, p. 8). The paper also points out the necessity for each community to take advantage of its available resources, social and material, so that it might be able to identify its weaknesses and how to overcome them as well as its strengths and build its sustainable strategies on the latter. However, the paper fails to consider the influence of monetary arrangements on community or area based governance, which, according to Stewart, will determine the availability of resources to the communities concerned (Stewart, 2000, p.178; Camagni et al, 2001, p.26). Hill rightly attested that "communities exist through human communication; they are not merely territorial units but consist in the links that exist between people sharing common interests in a network of social relationships. People interact in the course of their everyday social and economic lives" (Hill, 1994, p.34) See also, (Barton, 2000, p.5; Gilchrist, 2000, pp, 148 & 152-154). Dilys Hill argues further that the local community's actions may therefore be based on a rational calculation of costs and benefits or on community spirit in reaction to the prevailing situation.

The DETR suggested that:

In short, we need local strategies developed with local people to meet the needs of local people. This requires effective partnerships between all those concerned at national, regional and local level. In particular, it requires effective local authorities: councils that listen to, lead and build up their local communities; councils that work in partnership with business, minority ethnic and faith communities, voluntary organisations and other service providers with the common objective of improving the quality of life of all in their area. To do this, councils needs to break from old fashioned and inward looking practices and attitudes. Radical reform is required (DETR, 2000, p. 33).

The government should work with the local communities but it also should play a major role in creating an atmosphere where this partnership is possible. It ought to use ideas from all its experts to develop a vision for sustainable urban development.

Government must provide a clear lead and establish a vision for the future of our towns and cities. The vision must recognise the complexity of our urban areas and the dynamic nature of our towns and cities. It must address the key issues that have shaped their recent past in order to ensure a healthy and sustainable future (DETR, 2000, p. 20)

The vision should be reflected in the policies made towards sustainable development and these should have clear objectives whose targets are well specified. Tim Blackman has argued that in order for policies to be effective, they should not only have clear objectives but should also “reflect and distinguish between different interests” (Blackman, 1995, p.126). Sustainable urban development requires a whole range of measures from the local communities that should be involved from as early a stage as the appraisal and preparation of new development proposals (Office of the Deputy Prime Minister, 2004, p.91). It should also involve the local authorities and the Central government within a nation as well as at a global level. That is because as the Department for International Development in Britain (DfID) puts it, “Sustainable development is dependent on the application of pro-poor policies and approaches that enable poor families to participate and take advantages of economic growth and social and political opportunities in urban areas” (DfID, 2001, p.12). The pro-poor people policies are necessary because they are the single group which least benefit from the economic progress of their nations. The World Bank has also recognised this need in its 2004 Report arguing that, “the ultimate aim of development is to improve human welfare in a substantial way. But development has often bypassed the poor, and so attacking poverty directly through its many dimensions has become an urgent priority” (World Bank, 2004, p.35). The Report also accepted the fact that economic growth is necessary but this alone cannot help to solve the problem of poverty because poor people’s only personal assets are their labour. What is needed is a comprehensive investment in creating employment and providing all services essential for urban sustainable development. The DfID argued finally that:

Sustainable growth, in an urban context, is equally dependent on the creation of conditions within which economic development can continue to take advantage of the economies of scale that cities provide, matched by the availability of adequate infrastructure and services and a skilled and healthy workforce. Both will require increased commitment at the global, national and local level to plan for growth, and increased capacity within the political process and among city managers to implement change and reform in response to the requirements of a highly fluid and competitive global market place (DfID, 2001, p.12)

These actors need to work closely and effectively with each other and with other actors, such as NGOs and religious and charitable organisations, which are involved in the organisation of the community and have their economic and social activities impacting the local community in their efforts to sustain development over time.

1. 4 Urbanisation

1. 4. 1 The Urbanisation Debate

The debate on appropriate policies for a sustainable urban development has for the past few years revolved around the possibility of attaining those objectives by restructuring the urban areas either by encouraging further concentration of people or by reducing it. According to Findley, the choice between the two depends on one's preference of what she named 'accommodationist' strategies on one side of the debate and 'interventionist' strategies on the other (Findley, 1993, p.21). The arguments in support of intervention have also been known as 'dispersal' while those of the accommodationist are simply seen as those in favour of concentration (Barton, 2000, p. 106). For analytical purposes, the presentation of the two extreme positions is very helpful but it is necessary to bear in mind that in practical terms, there are many intermediary positions forming a continuum from one end to the other. In fact, most governments adopted a variety of ideas, while favouring one position over the other.

The interventionists saw the role of the government in building a sustainable urban development as that of channelling people from large urban areas to other centres viable for urbanisation, because the concentration of people in cities was considered to be destructive to the national economy as well as to the particular urban area (Findley, 1993, p.69; see also Gilbert, 1982, p.172). For Burton, among the interventionists the eco-idealists have taken

prominence. “The eco-idealists expound an ecosystem approach to settlements partly justified by the hope of social transformation. Ecologically and socially they consider small is beautiful” (Burton, 2000, p. 106). They thus advocate supporting rural communities or small urban areas rather than big cities, which they believe put too much pressure on the ecosystem.

Accommodationists for their part have viewed the concentration of people in cities not only as inevitable, but also as something that would bring about rapid development. For them, the role of the government is that of creatively formulating policies to foster innovation in the rapidly growing urban areas (Findley, 1993, p. 21; Haughton & Hunter, 1994, p.71). According to Burton, accommodationists are also known as “urban revivalists who advocate the compact city” (Burton, 2000, p. 107). Together with transport researchers, they are convinced that concentration reduces energy consumption and thus reduces environmental degradation caused by dispersing people into small urban areas or rural communities.

According to Chaligha, Findley demonstrated that both interventionist and accommodationist approaches were in agreement that policies were needed to bring about sustainable urban development because market forces alone had been shown to be inadequate for the purpose. However, policies would always involve government intervention regardless of whether they are accommodationist or interventionist policies. For accommodationists, the government should never intervene in order to limit the growth of urban areas, but to give them the possibility of growing unabated through carefully formulated policies (Chaligha, 1998, p.5). The demand for appropriate policies implies that the political fabric is capable of not only delivering, but also sustaining its structures and institutions whose leaders bear responsibility and are accountable to the state and urban dwellers. In other words, the sustainability of urban development might very well depend on the political stability in a country.

According to the accommodationists, cities are not simply engines of economic growth but also act as nodal points for communication networks, through which human society and the environment can sustainably prosper (Findley, 1993, p.22; Johnson, 1990, p.1). Indeed,

Johnson viewed cities as centres from which social change can be defused through human interaction and political influence, building sustainable communities by using various forms of social networks. He argued in favour of agglomerations, claiming that cities provide easy access to both the national and international markets, skilled and unskilled labour and special services such as those of wholesalers and advertising agents, which can hardly be found in smaller urban areas. Therefore, apart from the economies of scale in cities, economies of proximity favour urban areas, making it cheaper to exchange goods and services due to the close links with other manufacturers and entrepreneurs (Haughton and Hunter, 1994, p.45). Furthermore, other advantages of concentration, as observed by accommodationists, include the wide range of financial services, more reliable transport infrastructure and shared costs of various common facilities such as the toolmakers, banks etc. All these could be summed up in the concept that cities are centres of innovation and indeed even political evolution has emerged more from urban areas than from rural areas. To support this argument, Haughton and Hunter gave five reasons:

Firstly, high population density facilitates human contact and accelerates flows of information. Secondly, the diversity of the urban economy is conducive to technological advances achieved in one sector being applied in others. Thirdly cities have concentrations of educational and research facilities which encourage original thinking and systematic reflection. Fourth, cities tend to attract the more creative people from their hinterlands because of their greater economic and social opportunities. Finally... cities serve as the main gateways for links to other cities, with their concentration of innovative ideas, links made through trading and migration (Haughton and Hunter, 1994, p. 71).

These arguments seem to be very plausible. However, when applied directly to cities of developing countries, such as Dar in Tanzania, their strength seems to waver and their weaknesses emerge. Such cities have limited resources and inefficient infrastructural framework, hindering any globally noticeable innovation. The accommodationist perspective recognises the meagre innovations within the informal sector and would favour policies helping to increase the productivity of this sector and that of the urban poor in general (Cheema, 1992, p. 28 Cohen, 1992, p.9, DfID, 2001, p. 12-13). Indeed this has been one of their strongest points, reflecting a realisation that urban diseconomies have adverse effects on the urban poor or

lower income groups. “Cities have the resources and capacity to improve the conditions within which people live and work; they create the corresponding space within which poor people can demand, and obtain, redress from political and bureaucratic systems”(DfID,2001,p.11).

Accommodationists accept the contradictory nature of the capitalist city,

The city is the high point of human achievement, objectifying the most sophisticated knowledge on a physical landscape of extraordinary complexity, power, and splendour at the same time as it brings together social forces capable of the most amazing social technical and political innovation. Nevertheless, it is also the site of squalid human failure, the lightening rod of the profoundest human discontents, and the arena of social and political conflict (Harvey, 1989 p.229).

Accommodationists do admit the presence of social problems in cities, which constitute fundamental obstacles to a sustainable urban development. They argue, however, that such problems have nothing to do with the size of the city but with planning and organisation of the city and thus with the prevailing form of political development. For them, even if there were more urban diseconomies than economies, the best policy from a sustainable political base would not be de-concentrating people but rather a reorganisation of the city, for example, by increasing the public transport. The accommodationists dismiss realistic interventionist arguments that large urban areas become inefficient due to high costs of transport travelling to the centre, high land and labour costs, more pollution, stress and alienation, on the grounds that these are outweighed by the advantages of agglomeration. They also ignore the fact that large urban areas are more dependent on other ecosystems due to high consumption as well as the reduced internal capacity for food and energy production. It follows, therefore, that a sustainable urban development could best be achieved through a combination of market forces and appropriate policies formulated by competent governments whose planning institutions are based on the principles of sustainability.

1. 4. 2 Rapid Urbanisation

Urbanisation could be defined as the process of forming large settlements of people to create towns and cities, in other words, the process of forming urban areas. An urban area is a large settlement of people, which, depending on the size of its population could be considered to

be a town, or a city. Glaeser defines a city as “an urban political unit that generally contains more than 25,000 individuals” (Glaeser, 2001, p.5). The European Organisation of Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) describe cities in a comprehensive manner,

Cities can be characterized by the following interrelated characteristics: their spatial centrality and specificity; their concentrated nature; their heterogeneous components; their vertical distribution; their mechanisation; and their institutional and political authority, information and knowledge. Cities encourage concentration, diversity and exchange. They may also include congestion, differentiation, power and subordination (OECD, 1997, p. 13).

Such a comprehensive definition of urban areas might help in the formulation of policies that are appropriate for a variety of urban localities. Both Oberai and Glaeser agree that an increase in urbanisation basically means the increase in the proportion of a country’s population living in the urban areas (Glaeser, 2001, p. 5, Oberai, 1993). The sustainability of urban development in Tanzania, and in most African countries and the rest of the world, hinges on the type of policies adopted by both the central and local government to deal with the continent’s rapidly growing number of urban population.

Rapid global urbanisation is caused by political forces as well as economic forces. For example, in Africa political independence removed the colonial restrictions for Africans to live in urban areas. The removal of those restrictions was followed by mass migration into towns and cities. The United Nations Centre for Human Settlement (HABITAT) has given a good example of the economic reasons for rapid urbanisation. This attested that,

The steady increase in the level of urbanization worldwide since 1950 reflects the fact that the size of the world’s economy has grown many times since then and has also changed from one dominated by relatively closed national economies or trading blocks to one where most countries have more open economies and where production and the services it needs (including financial services) are increasingly integrated internationally (HABITAT, 1996, P13).

Tanzania and many other African countries have also been integrated into the world economy, although economic conditions in these countries and the nature of production and consumption is different from the rest of the world where the majority of the people no longer depend on agriculture for their living.

It has been observed by the United Nations that world settlement patterns have been changing very fast in the last few decades. The changes have included the rapid expansion of urban settlements all over the world. Furthermore, they have included the formation of metropolitan areas and huge cities of sizes never seen before. The UN Report on Human Settlements in 1996 rightly concluded that, “the last few decades have also brought a world that is far more urbanized, and with a much higher proportion living in large cities and metropolitan areas” (HABITAT, 1996, p. 12). Already in 1994 the United Nations population estimates revealed that by the year 1990 about 43 percent of the world population lived in urban areas (Badshah, 1996). At the same time it has been observed that it is not only urbanisation that has been increasing rapidly, but also the concentration of large numbers of people in cities as will be evident in the examination of the world’s largest cities. “The average population of the world’s 100 largest cities was over 5 million inhabitants by 1990 compared to 2.1 million in 1950 and less than 200,000 in 1800” (HABITAT, 1996, p.12). Writing in 2004, The United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) Report stated that “Today there are 20 cities of more than 10 million people (15 in developing countries), containing 4 per cent of the global population; by 2015 there will be 22 such mega-cities (16 in developing countries) with 5 percent of the global population” (UNFPA, 2004, p. 24). Given this trend of rapid urbanisation, the UN predicted that, “soon after the year 2000, there will be more urban dwellers than rural dwellers worldwide” (HABITAT, 1996, p. 12). However, the organisation could not give the exact year when this would happen. In 2004 the UNFPA report argued clearly that “by 2007, for the first time in human history, more than half the people of the world will be living in cities, the result of a continuing movement of people” (UNFPA, 2004, p.23). This evidence supports the argument that the current rapid urbanisation in Tanzania is not just part of a global trend of rapid increase in urban population, but also an aspect of a world alteration in human settlement, whereby more people live in urban rather than in rural areas. Rural reforms, and shortages of land as well as the fact that farming is becoming more technical and thus increasing

productivity, have forced more people to move from rural to urban areas. However, the developing world is urbanising more rapidly than the developed world, simply because the process of urbanisation in the developed world started a long time ago and most of its population are already living in urban areas.

Looking at the developing world, the trend of urbanisation is not very different from the general global situation described above. Nevertheless it has been argued that, “Almost all of the world’s population growth for the foreseeable future will occur in cities and towns of Africa, Asia, and Latin America” (Montgomery et al. 2003, p. 4). In the developing countries only 16 percent of the population lived in urban areas in 1950, but by 1990 about 37 percent of the population had become urban (Kasarda & Parnell, 1993 p. ix). This rapid growth was expected to continue so that the rate of urbanisation in the developing countries would remain high at about 5 percent (Findley, 1993, p.10; Townroe, 1996). However, this estimate has been higher than the actual growth, which is expected to continue at the rate of about 2.3% per year (UNFPA, 2004, p. 24). The UK’s Department for International Development (DfID) wrote about developing countries that, “While their rural populations are projected to remain around the 3 billion mark, their urban populations are forecast to grow from 2 billion now to about 4 billion by 2025, or from about 40% to about 57% of their total population” (DfID, 2001, p.9; the same figures could be seen in UNFPA, 2004, p. 24). Although the same trend of rapid urbanisation is observed across the developing world, it should be understood that the developing world is not homogeneous, and there are significant differences in the pattern and timing of urbanisation in Africa, Asia and Latin America, but the focus here will be Africa.

Africa is seen as having the most rapid urban change in the last four decades. However for the last two decades, demographic data is scarce and thus estimates have been in common use when studying urbanisation. “Africa has certainly had among the most rapid population growth and urban change of any of the world’s regions in recent decades yet for almost half of its nations, there is no census data available since the early 1980’s” (HABITAT, 1996, p. 84). The

failure of so many nations to carry out a regular census could be seen as a sign of their poverty, and sometimes a symptom of political instability (Rakodi, 1997, p.53). Nevertheless, the trend of rapid urbanisation has continued in Africa, where estimates had shown that urban population would have increased from 29.7 percent of the total in 1990 to over 39 percent by the year 2000 (Amis, 1990). According to Hinrichsen, this estimate was just a little over the real figures because in 2000, the urban population of Africa constituted only 37% (Hinrichsen, 24th Jan 2005). Yet a part of these figures was also estimated because Tanzania for example, had not carried out a census since 1988. In 2001, the Department for International Development noted that: "The percentage of the total population living in urban areas is expected to rise from 37% to 54% in Africa and from 38% to 55% in Asia by 2025" (DfID, 2001, p. 12; these figures are also found in UNFPA, 2004, p.24). It must not be forgotten in Sub-Saharan Africa, the urban population is lower than the average for the continent as a whole. The urban population in this area was only 32% of the region's inhabitants in 2001, as noted by the World Bank Development Indicators of 2003 (World Bank, 2003, p.158). The rapid urbanisation in Africa could also be expressed in terms of an increase in the number of large cities with at least one million inhabitants. For Rakodi, "by 1970 there were eight cities of 1 million + in Africa, and by 1990 there were estimated to be 24, in 18 countries" (Rakodi, 1997, p.53).

In the last four decades, "African cities have changed in at least four major ways: their size, their spatial organization or morphology, the quality and distribution of public services and infrastructure, and their employment base" (HABITAT, 1996, p. 86). From the 1980's, and well into the 1990's, a common trend has been that of deterioration of urban infrastructure and public services. "This is to some extent an inevitable result of the fact that, as national (and urban) economies stagnate in absolute terms, at the same time as urban populations across the continent continue to grow... the resources necessary for roads, sewers, water systems, schools and hospitals simply cannot keep up with the needs of the population" (HABITAT, 1996, p. 86). This is not surprising given the fact that the real economic output growth was not able to keep

pace with rapid population increase in general, and particularly in urban areas (African Development Bank, 1999, p.3). According to DfID, “Urban centres are characterised by the dense concentration of people, and the corresponding need for complex delivery systems to meet their resource and service needs” (DfID, 2001, p.13).

These pressures of rapid urbanisation and the changing role of cities in the process of development have revealed the weakness of the existing urban policies in the continent (Mathur, 1996; Townroe, 1996). It has also demonstrated that only a few countries have the necessary policies for dealing with growing urban problems. For example, the UN report revealed that,

Not only are the central business districts more poorly maintained and more populated with small-scale hawkers and vendors than in the past, but more and more of the population is moving to the periphery of the larger cities, where land is easily accessible, where shelter can be constructed economically using locally available materials, and where harassment from the police and restrictions of the formal planning system are rarely felt (HABITAT, 1996, p. 86).

The continued growth of these problems raises the question whether the urban authorities are simply unable to deal with these pressures because of the scale and shortage of resources or because they are not willing to engage with the issues.

The UN Report rightly argued about the expansion of African cities into the periphery that, “as these peripheral settlements continue to expand, and the public resources to service them continue to contract, a new approach to the planning and management of African cities will have to emerge if they are going to survive as viable social and productive entities in the twenty-first century” (HABITAT, 1996, p. 87). To solve the problems, sustainable development is proposed because it will link social capital in local communities with local government to establish effective power relations for sustaining progress (World Bank, 2001, p.128).

According to Lugalla, many African governments, including Tanzania’s, did not define their post independence urban development policies until in the late 1960s (Lugalla, 1995). Even when the policies were brought into place they were not adequate and thus were doomed from the start. Furthermore, “governments, despite the political power of the urban populations, had declining volumes of resources and often misdirected them into ineffective or prestige

investment” (Rakodi, 1997, p. 55). The failure of this pattern of investment and other development policies in the face of rapid urbanisation has brought a sharp increase in the incidence of urban poverty (Cohen, 1992; Mathur, 1996; Badshah, 1996). Urban poverty has been observed in various forms including lack of access to water, electricity, low-income and living in concentrated informal settlements. “During the 1980’s the increase in the level of spontaneous, or informal, housing in and around African cities reflected the almost total inability of most national or city authorities to provide adequate serviced land and infrastructure to their growing populations” (HABITAT, 1996, p. 89). This problem is not confined to Africa alone because, as HABITAT noted in its 2003 global estimates, “in 2001 924 million people in the world live in slums, where they lack basic services, live in overcrowded and substandard housing, and are exposed to unhealthy living conditions and hazardous locations” (World Bank, 2004, p.10). The increase in urban poverty raises questions about the actions taken by governments to promote sustainable urban development, and how they hope to achieve it when the living condition for large numbers of people can hardly allow them to contribute effectively.

It could be argued that poverty is not something new in developing nations, but, as it has rightly been observed, ‘the concentration of the poor in cities is a completely different challenge’ (Mathur, 1996, p.69). This generally led to a period that came to be known as the time of “urban crisis in Africa,” and it extended from the 1980s to the 1990s. This corresponds to the time of Structural Adjustment Programmes, when deterioration in African economies and their dependence on foreign assistance made the governments vulnerable and “susceptible to uniform policy prescriptions” (Rakodi, 1997, p. 51). It should be noted that the first wave of Structural Adjustment Programmes introduced in Africa comprised the same policies for almost all counties. The 1980s IMF policy prescriptions made life more difficult for the urban poor in Africa as public expenditure was cut, thus magnifying the urban crisis. The UN report on human settlements summarised the nature of the crisis, arguing that:

The crisis-which itself was a reflection of declining or stagnating economies in the face of continuous rural-urban migration-had three major components: a decline in levels of formal employment, and a corresponding rapid increase in 'informal sector' activities in many key areas of the urban economy; a deterioration in both the quality and distribution of basic services; and a decline in the quality of the urban environment, both built and natural. All these changes adversely affected the quality of urban life for everyone, but particularly for low-income groups (HABITAT, 1996, p.89).

The economic decline in most cities has been accompanied by reduced spending on public services and infrastructure. For example HABITAT observed that in Dar es Salaam, the expenditure on services and infrastructure fell by 8.5% in real terms between 1979 and 1987. The report argued further that, if the population increase were added into the equation, the decline in public services and infrastructure expenditure in the city would be as high as 11% per year on a per capita basis. In Togo, public expenditure as a percentage of the total national investment was reduced from 17.9% in 1966 to only 6% in 1985. According to HABITAT, most of the former French colonies had a very similar experience during this period. However, each country had its own specific reasons for the decline despite the suggestion that the main reason was the decline in French aid. "The result is environmental damage, deteriorating living conditions, especially for the urban poor, and lack of the political legitimacy needed to improve revenue collection and the regulatory process" (Rakodi, 1997, p. 55).

1. 4. 3 Models of Development

Most African cities have not yet had a chance to participate in the global arena in the same way that cities of developed nations play a role in the production and export of sophisticated goods and high technological goods. These are views expressed by many who use dependency theories to explain the position of the continent and other developing countries in the global development process. For example Stiglitz argued:

Those who vilify globalization too often overlook its benefits. But the proponents of globalization have been, if anything, even more unbalanced. To them, globalization (which typically is associated with accepting triumphant capitalism, American style) is progress; developing countries must accept it, if they are to grow and fight poverty effectively. But to many in the developing world, globalization has not brought the promised economic benefits... Despite repeated promises of poverty reduction made over the last decade of the twentieth century, the actual number of people living in poverty has actually increased by almost 100 million. This occurred at the same time that total world income actually increased by an average of 2.5 percent annually (Stiglitz, 2002, p.5).

Stiglitz has pointed out not only the myths of the suitability of the American model to the developing world as propagated by simple modernisation theories, but has also shown that its dependency on the developed world for policy and development models has either left it worse off or in stagnation. He argued further that the much-needed private investment has been marginal in these countries even if they have instituted fairly good governments because, having been forced to abandon socialism, they were led to believe that private investment would follow. When this did not happen, these countries had neither the capital reserves nor populations with the ability to make investment. Yet private and public investment is, to some extent, essential for achieving the sustainability of urban development and of a nation.

In a critical evaluation of modernisation theories, Tamio and Tsuruyo argued that the theories wrongly apply a unilinear hypothesis about the modernisation of the developing countries. These arguments, argues Tamio, might seem plausible but they fail to take into account the peculiar features of the Asian form of modernisation including the fact that it did not take place from within, but have been an outcome of external pressure. Besides, the social, cultural, political and economic condition in which the middle class has emerged in Asia has been very different from that of the West (Tamio & Truruyo, 2003, p.140). Their argument applies well in Africa. First, Africa's modernisation has been shaped by foreign powers for their own needs rather than those of the continent. Second, the conditions in which development is taking place in Africa are very different from those of Europe, Asia and America, and thus, policies and development models should not be chosen by the donors without taking local variations into account. It must not be forgotten that, although the United States is the largest economy in the world, it is not unique as a model of development.

Several economies match or exceed the American level of income per capita while having radically different policies and more equal social outcomes. For example, Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Japan, and Norway are open economies. All have far less inequality than the United States with similar average income. By combining prosperity with equity they are the closest the world has come to eradicating poverty (World Bank Policy Research, 2002, p.14).

These must be more preferred models for development in Tanzania and the rest of the developing world, and yet, even they should be adapted to local needs rather than taken at face

value. Models of development should reflect not the place where they were originally conceived but the local conditions in which they are to shape the nature of development and lives of various communities.

In evaluating development models, Stiglitz used the example of Russia whose transition from communism to capitalism was fashioned in the American model yet experienced a great economic decline, in contrast to China, which used its own principles to guide its transition and has experienced significantly greater economic prosperity. Stiglitz did not give a detailed account of the differences between the two countries. For example, unlike Russia, China had capital reserves for internal investment and many Chinese people had savings that they could invest in various enterprises. Nevertheless, his analysis reveals the problems of applying a development model without thorough analysis of prevailing cultural and economic bottlenecks.

Stiglitz rightly captured the contradictions involved in the process of globalisation:

The critics of globalization accuse Western countries of hypocrisy, and the critics are right. The western countries have pushed poor countries to eliminate trade barriers, but kept their own barriers, preventing developing countries from exporting their agricultural products and so depriving them of desperately needed export income (Stiglitz, 2002, p. 7).

These views have been supported by a World Bank Policy Report, which argued that:

While many developing counties have chosen to become more open economically, they continue to confront protectionism in the rich countries. Average tariff rates in rich countries are low, but they maintain barriers in exactly the areas where developing counties have comparative advantage: agriculture and labour-intensive manufactures. Protection in rich countries costs developing countries more than \$100 billion dollars per year, twice the total volume of aid from North to South (The World Bank Policy Research, 2002, p. 8-9)

Under these conditions, Africa and its cities have no choice but to strive to meet the challenges of sustainable development in unfavourable global market conditions. They are involved in the high technological markets while importing, and they do so at very high cost. Equitable regional development should be the goal (Hentz, 2005, p.24).

Rogerson took this argument further, arguing that most of Africa has been left out of the current globalisation process, which, despite its negative effects, is essential for augmenting economic growth, increasing efficiency and creating sustainable employment. He added that Africa does not have the capacity to take advantage of the new growth opportunities (Rogerson,

1997, p. 340). Simon rightly attests that “the continent’s exports remain overwhelmingly primary commodities, while a high proportion of manufactured goods are still imported or produced purely for the local market” (Simon, 1997, p. 75). Business is growing fast in African urban areas and so have personal services, which are characteristics purely associated with urban development. However, stock markets have not developed to the extent of taking on board any significant international role. This situation does not help in the effort towards sustainable development in a world where competition has moved from the production of industrial goods into the financial markets where very high levels of profits are now made. Africa has not been well equipped for this kind of competition in the world market. It has been argued further that the regions with better infrastructure are likely to reap disproportionately high gains compared to Africa which has been by-passed (Sikdar, 2003, p.183) with little gain.

For Rogerson, it is clear that the newly industrialising nations of South East Asia have managed to adopt flexible production process, and new forms of product specialisation to meet the needs of specific markets. These require high levels of human and material resource in order to set out the new forms of economic organisation and Africa is seen as lacking in this capacity. Nevertheless, even here generalisation might not be appropriate because South Africa and most of the North African countries have shown signs of urban and economic change not found in the rest of the continent. That is because of the various historical advantages these nations have had and the investment they have received in the last few decades. Therefore it is imperative to observe that “there are often great differences in conditions, dominant processes, and influence over outcomes within individual cities and countries” (Simon, 1997, p.105). That is why it is important to examine individual countries to discover the existing situation of urbanisation, and the processes of urban development as well as the particular conditions in which the urban poor are struggling to survive. The thesis will study Tanzania’s urban development trends with special emphasis on efforts needed for sustainable development, which is expected to offer the urban poor new possibilities.

1. 5 Rapid Urbanisation in Tanzania

Rapid urbanisation in Tanzania has attracted many researchers' attention in the last few years (Ngware, 2000, p.15). In Tanzania, the political unit given the status of a town council must have at least 30,000 people, while municipalities and cities must have at least 80,000. Municipalities are seen as having strategic importance in the nation's development and must have a potential to advance towards a "self-sustaining city economy" (Halla, 1996, pp.47). Halla argued further that,

The status of a Town Council is awarded to a settlement with a population of 30,000 or above. Factors used are reasonable capacity of the basic community facilities and public utilities; and attainment, or having a high potential of attainment, of a reasonably self-sustaining local economy" (Halla, 1996, pp.47).

According to Halla, a township is seen as a settlement that consists of not less than 9,000 people, which has some capacity for basic facilities necessary for the local community and has public utilities that the community requires. This study will focus on a variety of urban areas, a municipal council within a city, and two regional towns, also municipalities, with different institutional histories. These areas are characterised by large numbers of people, concentrated economic activities, community facilities and public service provision capable of serving the needs of the local population and the surrounding hinterland.

The rapid urbanisation in Tanzania reflects a common trend in developing countries. Generally, there have been high and sustained population growth rates in the developing world in the last few decades (Kasarda & Parnell, 1993, p. ix; Oberai, 1993, p.58; Stren, 1994, p. 3). Although this has slowed down in recent years with the spread of HIV/AIDS, population increase is still high. Stren viewed rapid urbanisation as a powerful force for change throughout the world and one that has had detrimental effects on the urban poor, especially in developing countries. Furthermore, he observed that there are severe income constraints in developing countries and therefore the rapid increase in urban populations has created serious problems in service provision and infrastructure especially among the urban poor (Stren, 1994, p.4). Many analysts believe this situation was exacerbated by the Structural Adjustment Programmes

introduced in developing countries in the 1980's by the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank (Chazan et al. 1999, p. 326; Stren, 1994, p. 4). Despite this trend, through the 1980's, policy makers and those involved in development tended to ignore urbanisation and its effects. In Stren's words,

Development thinking and international assistance tended to ignore urban development, but at the same time huge numbers of people were living and working in cities, asserting their interests in an increasingly direct fashion as structural adjustment programmes were applied (Stren, 1994, p.4).

Urban development was ignored for two reasons. First policy makers rightly believed that most poor people lived in the rural areas. For example in 1980 Schultz argued that, "most of the world's poor people earn their living from agriculture" (The World Bank, 2002, p. 31), and that knowing the economics of farming would help to understand the economics of being poor. This argument ignores the plight of the urban poor whose poverty and suffering is sometimes worse than that of the rural poor because there are weaker supporting social linkages and networks within the urban setting than in the rural habitats. Furthermore, the urban poor cannot grow their own food and it can be argued that poverty should not be measured just on disposable income.⁶ Second, many in the developed world, including in the World Bank, were convinced that there has been an "urban bias" (The World Bank, 2002, p. 31; The World Bank, 2000/2001, p.67) that has favoured urban areas over rural areas because of the particular distribution of investment. One such example was stated in 2002 when it was argued in the World Bank Development Report that farming in many countries has historically suffered from urban bias in public policy. The state marketing boards in many African countries usually created a surplus for governments that was used for the benefit of urban dwellers (World Bank, 2002, p. 32). This

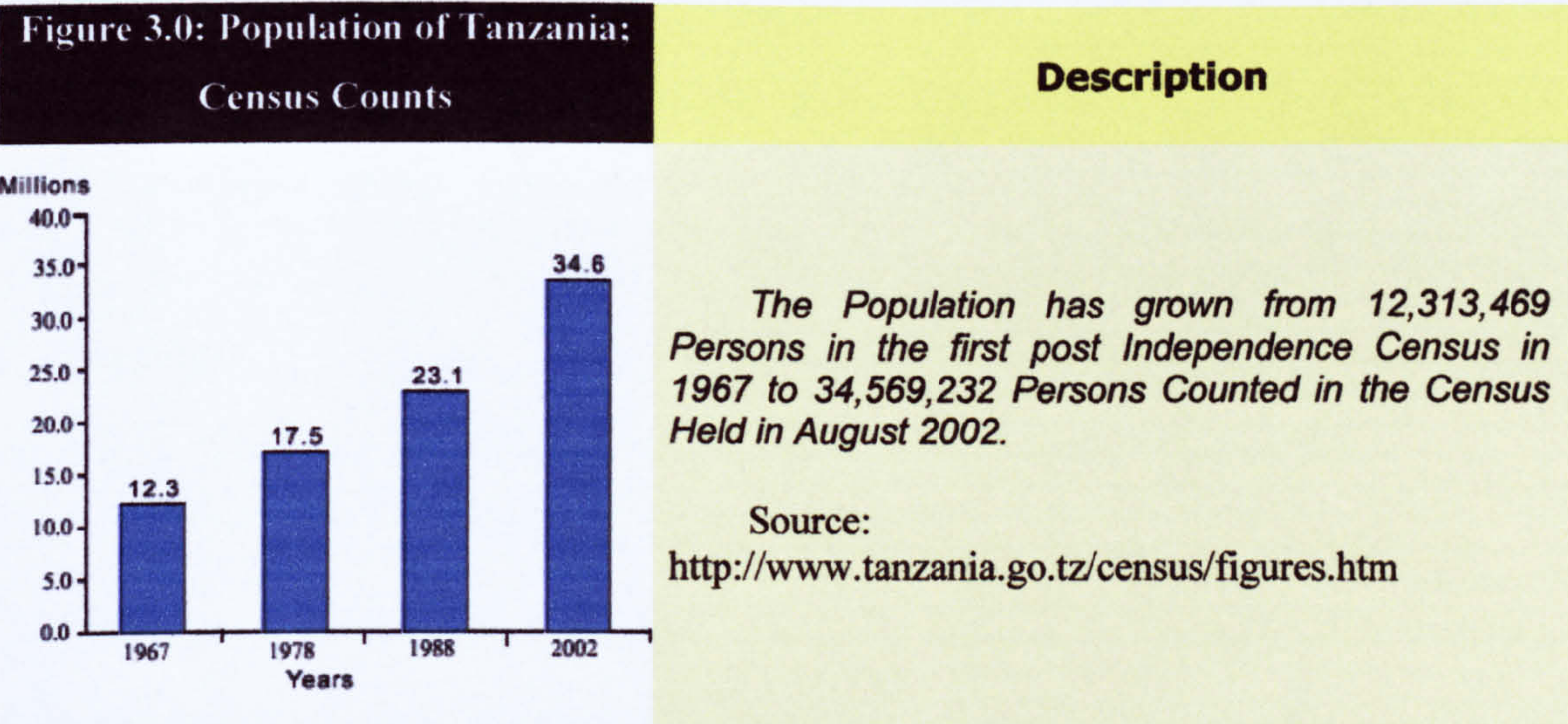
⁶ . According to Montgomery et al, in examining the effects of intraurban poverty, the panel found that the urban poor are in a distinctly inferior position relative to other urban residents in terms to access to basic amenities. The urban poor are also particularly vulnerable to economic, social and political crises and environmental hazards and disasters (Montgomery et al, 2003, p.4).

fear of urban bias encouraged an imbalanced approach to development that neglected not only urban development but also the social problems of the urban poor. The outcome of neglecting urban development was an increase in social problems in most of the developing world's towns and cities, as poverty became increasingly visible in the poor living conditions. Ngware summarised the developing countries' urban problems:

The most serious and daunting problems confronting smaller towns, municipalities, and cities in Africa in general, and Tanzania in particular, include the following: First, inadequate financial resources. Second, lack of reliable employment opportunities. Third, spreading homelessness and rapid expansion of slums and squatter settlements. Fourth, increased abject poverty and a widening gap between the rich and poor. Fifth, growing insecurity and rising crime. Sixth, inadequate and deteriorating building stock, services and infrastructure. Seventh, lack of reliable social service delivery, eg. water, health, education, sanitation, transportation etc. Eighth, improper land use and insecure land tenure. Ninth, rising traffic congestion, increasing pollution, lack of green and open spaces. Tenth, uncoordinated urban development (Ngware, 200, pp.7-8).

All these suggest that the current trend of development needs a critical evaluation. My thesis will be an analysis of the situation in Tanzania and will identify the most appropriate ways through which solutions to the problems related to urban poverty might be generated.

The following figure shows the population growth in Tanzania since 1967 and gives the context in which the rapid urbanisation has been taking place.



As is the case in most of the developing countries, “urbanisation is an issue in Tanzania not only because of its social and economic significance but also because of its high rate and lack of effective mechanism to manage its outcomes, such as pressure on urban services and

infrastructure” (Ngware & Lories, 2000, p. 117). Out of over thirty four million people in Tanzania, more than twenty five percent live in urban areas. The following table 1.1 will help highlight this reality in Tanzania where for 14 years from 1988 to 2002, there was no national census and policy makers had to rely on estimates, most of which were highly exaggerated.

Table 1.1: Tanzania Urban Population in Percentage and Millions

Year	1965	1980	1988	2002
Percentage	5.3%	14.8%	18.4%	23.5%
Population	0.6 million	2.7 million	4.3 million	8.1 million

Sources: 1. Ngware, 2000, p.8; figures for 1965 and 1980.
2. <http://www.tanzania.go.tz/census/tables.htm> (I calculated the figures for 1988 and 2002 using the Census Data).
3. <http://www.tanzania.go.tz/populationf.html>

In 1965, four years after independence, only 5.3% of Tanzanians lived in urban areas, and yet by 1988 this had grown to 18.4%. This trend of rapid urbanisation is expected to continue. According to Ngware, by 2024 the urban population is expected to be more than 30% of all Tanzanians. Though the precise accuracy of these projections might be disputed, there is no doubt that these figures reveal a trend of rapid urbanisation in Tanzania that is likely to continue. This trend of rapid urbanisation has been experienced in Kenya also, where in 1983 about 15% of the population were living in urban areas (Jamal & Weeks, 1993, p. 56). By 1990 this had grown to 18% and is expected to be about 26.4% in the year 2010 as shown in the table.

Table 1.2: The Percentage of Kenya’s Urban Population

Year	1983	1990	1995	2010 (est)
% of Urban Population	15	18	19.2	26.4

Sources: 1. (The Republic of Kenya: National Development Plan 1997-2001, p.75).
2. (Jamal & Weeks, 1993, p. 56).

Urbanisation is accepted as part and parcel of a nation’s development. It is necessary, however, to analyse its direct consequence in terms of future progress and current coping mechanisms for the urban dwellers and the local government. Evidence so far shows that local authorities have not been able to cope well with rapid urbanisation. Instead there has been a

trend towards increased urban poverty, an inability to provide the necessary services, and decay of infrastructure. This will be evident in the case studies of Kinondoni, Moshi and Iringa. According to the OECD, “the persistence of urban problems suggests that our current understanding of cities is incomplete and ineffective” (OECD, 1997, p. 13). Indeed this thesis takes the challenge and seeks to provide a critical analysis of urban development in Tanzania in order to offer an understanding that is both comprehensive and effective.

Following interventionist approaches to distribute wealth to the whole of Tanzania, the government introduced the decentralisation policy in 1969. But the main reason was to promote Nyerere’s egalitarian principles of socialism and self-reliance arguing that:

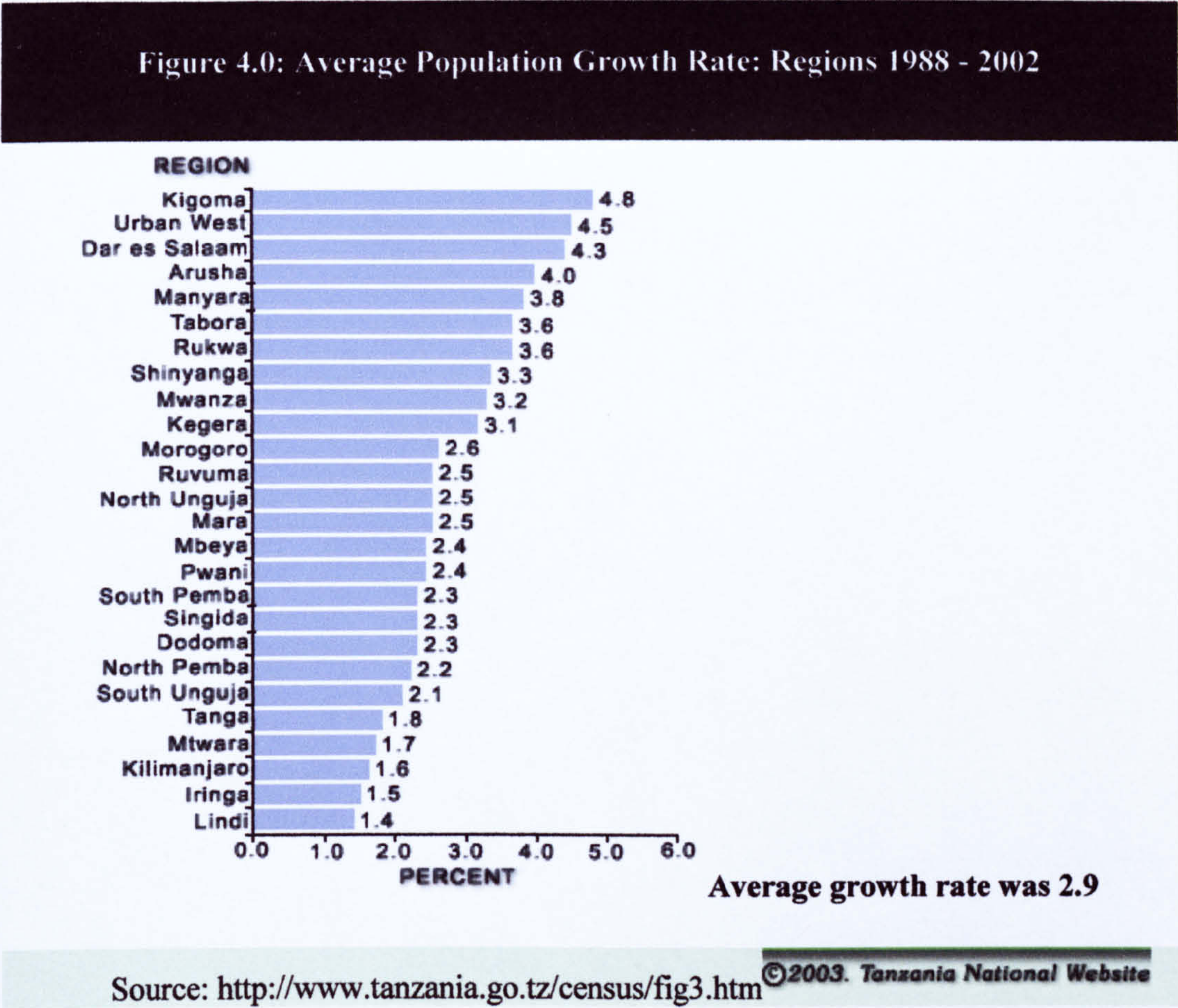
In order to mobilize development in a region it is necessary to concentrate enough activities of sufficient size and wide enough range that the general tempo of economic activity accelerates sufficiently to justify the projects implemented and provides an environment in which a range of new investment opportunities are spontaneously developed... A vigorous policy of urban decentralization will result in a number of medium-sized urban centres, each providing facilities and economic stimulus to surrounding regions (The United Republic of Tanzania, 1969 p.179).

Consequently, nine towns were chosen outside Dar as the new growth poles. In the north, they included Moshi, Tanga, Arusha and Mwanza, while in the southern regions Mbeya and Mtwara were selected. The rest were the central towns of Dodoma, Morogoro, and Tabora (The United Republic of Tanzania, 1969). The Government of Kenya adopted a similar policy, where a number of ‘growth centres’ were selected in order to stimulate regional growth (Obudho, 1982). These areas benefited from increased investment, but generally the policies were not considered successful as shown by the persistence of regional and urban inequalities, and the pressure on Nairobi continued unabated (Vali Jamal & John Weeks, 1993).

The problem of course, as elsewhere, has been how to make the growth poles grow. Thus far, despite bargain land prices, tax incentives to industry, and provision of subsidized public utilities such as wide paved roads, water, and sewers, increases in population have fallen below expectations (Abu-Lughod, 2004, 136).

Abu-Lughod’s observation concerning Egypt has similar resonance in many African countries. However, the situation has been worse in countries such as Tanzania, which have neither been able to offer adequate public services nor tax incentives to stimulate the development of the

growth poles. This is evidenced by the high inequalities still existing in the country and which have been fast increasing since the adoption of economic liberalisation policies in the 1980s. Dar has remained the fastest growing urban area in the country and one of the fastest in Africa⁷ (Simone, 2005, p.2). Even in terms of regions, only Urban West in Zanzibar and Kigoma had higher growth rates than Dar. See Figure 4.0 below.



The southern urban areas have remained behind the northern towns of Tanga, Moshi, Arusha and Mwanza. In practice, the argument for decentralisation, that it would stimulate

⁷. According to Simone, “Dar Es Salaam and Maputo are two of the fastest growing cities in the continent, such cities simply cannot keep up with the demands placed upon them (Simone, 2005, p. 2).

growth in other urban areas, was not applied to economic activities that are related to the Central government itself, or to the international agencies. Both kept their head offices in Dar and have not been willing to move even to the newly designed political capital of Dodoma, let alone to other smaller towns. Furthermore, Tanzania's meagre resources were unable to finance and facilitate the multiple functions expected from the growth of urban centres. As a result, Dar's growth rate of 4.3% is much higher than the national average, which is only 2.9%. The other two regions of Kilimanjaro and Iringa have growth rates below the national average. According to Haughton and Hunter, the growth pole policies only create new urban problems in new areas while diminishing the economic viability of the major cities (Haughton and Hunter, 1994). Furthermore, there is no intrinsic connection between the small size of an urban area and good environmental or social conditions or efficient political system that might enhance sustainable development.

Disillusioned with the theory of trickle down effects of industrialisation from the capital cities in developing nations, interventionists observed that in such countries industry constituted a tiny fraction of the economy. For example, in Tanzania, in the late 1960 and early 1970s, industrial production constituted less than five percent of the GDP. According to Findley, since in these nations most industries were small scale and medium size, their location in secondary urban areas would not be too costly. In fact it has been argued that investment in such areas would be more beneficial than the high cost in the capital cities (Findley, 1993). What has not been fully understood by interventionists is that regional disparity and deterioration of capital cities was not rooted in the cost of production and distribution alone, but is also a result of poor planning and uncoordinated policies that have turned urban areas into centres of crisis.

In the past few decades, many governments saw the concentration of population in urban areas as a threat to social and public order and thus could not be ignored by developers (Barnett, 1988; Nientied & Linden, 1988; Harris, 1992; Cheema, 1992). They decided rural-urban migration must be discouraged as it increased concentration in urban areas. To control migration they adopted extreme interventionist policies of repatriating the urban poor to their rural areas of origin (The United Republic of Tanzania, 1969; Sabot, 1988, Amis, 1990). Such measures were used in Tanzania and Kenya, but unlike Kenya, Tanzania adopted some positive intervention policies aimed at a balanced and equitable urban growth by providing infrastructure and services in a variety of urban centres. The failure of these policies gave the accommodationist perspective a stronger claim that interventionist approaches do not work and that cities are better left to grow according to the needs of the society.

As previously indicated, Tanzania, and most of Africa, has vast numbers of people moving into urban areas. The rapid urbanisation in Tanzania and the rest of Africa is caused by natural increase and by rural to urban migration. In the global context, the rapid urbanisation and increase in urban population is an outcome of natural increase more than migration (UNFPA, 2004, p. 24). Natural increase of urbanisation refers to the increase in population caused by birth. It is therefore about the increase in the number of children who are born in urban areas.

Rural to urban migration still plays an important role in growth of urban areas in Tanzania. For example it has been observed that, "During the 1988 Census, Dar es Salaam continued, as a region, to have a positive migration rate of 4.4% per annum" (Mascarenhas, 2000, p.62-63). In a paper published by the International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED) it was also observed that a study of Himo Town in Kilimanjaro Region and its surrounding villages revealed that more than 50% of households in the villages had one or more migrant sons, and one in three households had at least one daughter who had migrated to urban areas (Diyamett et al., 2001). In 2002, Tocoli writing a paper for the IIED concluded that in Sub-Saharan Africa:

Between 50 and 80 per cent of rural households have at least one migrant member, and this is not affected by wealth levels. This is because, while economic motivations are the main reason for moving, they overlap with socio-cultural expectations of widening one's experience and the desire by younger generations to escape from obligations and control from their elders (Tocoli, 2002, p7).

It should not be forgotten that, while this rapid migration reduces pressure on rural areas, it magnifies poor people's exposure to other social-economic and environmental hazards in towns and cities (World Bank, 2004). That is because the rapid increase in numbers of people has been met with ever decreasing social services and deteriorating urban infrastructure. This is a big issue for Tanzania, and for Africa, and the continent's process of urban development needs a new approach. Unlike rural areas, where most of the academic and donor countries' attention has been focussed for a long time, with various development projects, Africa's urban areas need new approaches to development because to date they have not received adequate attention. This study proposes sustainable urban development as one of the best approaches because it creates a partnership of development with all concerned stakeholders.⁸ It is a form of development which can be kept going for generations, giving all communities ownership of the process by involving them from consultation to implementation.

To show how these power relations between the municipal officials and the people and between the local government and central have affected the development process, three urban areas in Tanzania will be analysed in chapters four, five and six, where the link between central and local government in relation to policy objectives and progress will be examined. Yet local progress needs government support. According to Blackman, "the power relations between central and local government have had a potent influence on urban policy," (Blackman, 1995,

⁸. For Estrella and Gaventa, "Stakeholders are those who directly or indirectly become involved in deciding what a project or programme should achieve and how it should be achieved" (Estrella & Gaventa, 1998, p.18).

p.3). One way to facilitate progress is through trade policy set by the Central government. Peko warned in a newspaper article “that trade was a tool for development which did not involve money and facilities only but also human beings and their welfare, so it was imperative for the system to give equal negotiating opportunities if development for all was the goal” (The Guardian, 14 August 2002). There are, indeed, good arguments that globalisation is unlikely to be beneficial to development in a country as poor as Tanzania. In any case, this study found that many local producers in Tanzania do not have the necessary information about Central government regulations, and how the export market works. According to Diouf, “it was the role of the local government to co-ordinate investment and to provide information and knowledge about export markets and government regulations to local producers” (Diouf, 2001, p.9). In this way, an effective working relationship between central and local government might help business and other local actors by equipping them with the necessary information and investment to participate in the global economy.

However, urban development requires policies that are dynamic as the reality of life is dynamic. Thus if unchanged for too long the situation will become unsatisfactory and there will be a demand for new policies. For Blackman “the starting point for policy-making is a pre-existing state of affairs which is considered unsatisfactory and which a policy attempts to change” (Blackman, 1995, p. 125). First the ineffectiveness of social policy and local authority action has resulted in the decay of infrastructure, proliferation of poor settlements, slums, squatters and a general increase in urban poverty (Ngware & Kironde, 2000, p.2; Halfani 1994, p. 149). The real question though is whether this has to do with the intrinsic quality of the policy, or with the shortage of human and material resources in the country, or both. The second problem is the fragmentation and poor organisation from within the institutions concerned with urban development. According to Halfani, the fragmentation of urban policy and development strategies as well as segmentation of its management and lack of coherently integrated urban development systems has only helped to increase social problems and slow down urban

progress in East Africa (Halfani, 1994, p. 49). Therefore, the shortage of resources should not be used as the excuse. Rather, it should be taken into consideration in the analysis and given emphasis on how these resources could best be allocated and managed. The third problem is the neglect and poverty in which the urban poor have to survive. Rahman et al. observed a similar scenario for slum dwellers in Bangladesh and saw that development would only be feasible if these people's life standard was improved. In their own words they attested that "low-income generating slum dwellers are living hand to mouth, and most of them are day labourers. This situation needs to be changed as soon as possible for the well-being of the nation" (Rahman et al. 2000, p.2). It thus became necessary to study these forms of extreme deprivation and lack of access to the basic needs as well as how social policy objectives could be used to make a difference in Tanzania's urban development. Extreme poverty is an outward sign of failed development. But it is also a cause of that failed development because it excludes the poor from the process through which they could improve their living standards and contribute to the nation's overall development. Kironde and Ngware rightly noted that,

The limited impact of public authority action has led to gross inadequacy in the provision of goods and services required for the growing urban areas, and to the development of the informal city. A lot of action is undertaken spontaneously by city residents, many times contrary to the wishes, or plans, of public authorities. This has resulted into informal settlements, informal economic activities, unregulated and un-provided for urban development; a breakdown in law and order, slums and a poor urban environment (Kironde & Ngware, 2000, p.2).

Furthermore, as Ngware observed, Tanzania's serious urban development problems "require deliberate and feasible policies that are informed by objective urban research that draws from global experience but is hinged upon Tanzania's social, political, economic, cultural and technological realities" (Ngware, 2000, p.8). According to the United Nation Development Programme (UNDP), "redressing biases in public spending as well as targeting basic services to people with lower health and education outcomes would help" (UDP, 2004, p.9). My thesis is intended to inform policy makers in Tanzania about the most appropriate ways to make urban development a reality that can be sustained. It will also respond to Ngware's call for urgent research to construct objective knowledge with new urban development insights (Ngware 2000).

In his analysis of East Africa's urban development, Halfani argued that the process of policy making and implementation as well as resource allocation and monitoring of expenditure is conducted by bureaucrats.⁹ For as long as bureaucrats form the policies, the urban poor will be marginalised and their needs will not be met (Halfani, 1994, p. 150). This might explain why policy has not been responding very well to the local needs in various urban areas of Tanzania and the rest of East Africa, but it is too simplistic a view to explain the whole complex situation of urban social development. It could be argued that some bureaucratic bodies function more efficiently than democratically elected urban local councils, as was the case in Dar where the City Commission replaced the City Council in 1996 and was seen to have been more effective (Fuko & Lubuva, 1999). In the case of the City Commission, Halfani's argument would not apply because the bureaucrats seemed to have been more concerned with the needs of most residents than the elected council. When the local needs are attended to, it encourages participation by various communities and this in turn encourages commitment to development. Here I concur with Anastacio, who argued that "Critical reflections on these experiences of participation can contribute directly to the ways in which changes in local democratic structures and working practices will, or will not, revive interest in local government and the new forms of regional governance" (Anastacio et al. 2000, p.4). The significance of responding to the needs of local communities in the process of sustainable development will be discussed further in chapter three where the proliferation of urban policies will be analysed.

⁹. For Scott, the outcome of policy choices "are shaped by the process of implementation and administration that follows" (Scott, 2001, p. 51).

Conclusions

This chapter has examined and presented not only the research problem, but also the core question, the objectives and value of the study. How sustainable urban development in Tanzania might be achieved is the main concern of the research. It has been shown in this chapter that this is a specific type of development that can keep growing and adapting on a long term basis, meeting the local communities' aspirations and needs over generations. Sustainable development has moved beyond its traditional focus on environment and now it includes social, economic, political and urban progress. It has established that sustainable development has included the relations within the local government where the policies are implemented.

Rapid urbanisation is a phenomenon that has been observed all over the world, but is growing at a faster rate in the developing world, at least over the last four decades. In Tanzania, and most of Africa, rapid urbanisation has been accompanied by a rapid decrease in social service provision and in the quality of urban infrastructure. This has added huge problems to the efforts that have been undertaken to promote the process of development. As a result, development has hardly been achieved, let alone sustained. In their attempt to find adequate solutions for the social and economic problems of urban dwellers, some scholars have argued in favour of allowing cities to grow unabated while others have argued against this view in favour of direct government intervention to reduce the size of cities, and manage the pattern of urban development in the country. Tanzania is an interesting case whose urban centres have been subjected to both approaches, applied by different regimes, at different historical periods of time. Sustainable development is an explicit, possible idea and a development goal, but it has not yet been realised in the country. This thesis attempts to explain why.

Chapter 2. The Research Methods

2. 1 Critical Discourse Analysis

Research methodology is one of the most important elements in the study of social science and especially in the analysis of complex data involving society and political as well as

developmental evolution. It is particularly crucial in efforts to make these processes sustainable in the long term. In fact, in the context of urban development, the sustainable development discourse, as such, involves the interaction between individual officials within institutions as well as the interactions between institutions with individual residents whose reality of daily life is affected by the policies formulated by those institutions. It is therefore, concerned with the “complexity of the workings of power relations within the society as a whole” (Mills, 2004, p. 136). And it is those within institutions that have authority to make policy choices that affect the lives of the whole population concerned whose interactions must be examined to understand the reasons for the choices made. As Persons put it, “authority is essentially the institutional code within which the use of power as a medium is organized and legitimized”¹⁰ (Persons, 1986, p.113). Development discourse seeks to study the policies adopted together with the reasons those in authority at local level choose to make policy choices for the process of development and for the implementation of policies made by the Central government. While analysing post-colonial theory Mills evaluated the evolving meaning of discourse and concluded that,

Instead of assuming that discourse is a group of statements or modes of knowing, discourse is now characterised as being open to interpretation and thus open to resistance, even when at its most seemingly powerful. Thus, within current analyses of discourse, it is no longer assumed that the dominant meaning of a discourse is the only meaning that is available within the text (Mills, 2004, p. 114).

That is why it is important to realize how complex social reality is and the interpersonal relations entailed in the development process demand a form of discourse analysis that is critical and penetrates through this complexity of interactions to offer a meaningful interpretation and understanding of the reasons choices are made, who is involved, how and what impact these

10. The communicative production of power and the struggle or strategic competition for political power can be grasped in terms of action-types; but for the employment of legitimate power the action structures through which it is exercised are not essential. Legitimate power permits the occupants of positions of authority to make binding decisions. This employment of power is of interest more from the vantage point of systems theory than from that of action theory (Habermas, 1986, p. 85-86).

have in effecting the desired change that is termed 'development'. According to Escobar, "strictly speaking, the development discourse is governed by the same principles; it has created an extremely efficient apparatus for producing knowledge about, and the exercise of power" (Escobar, 1995, p.9). And yet to grasp the manner in which the power is socially dispensed and its effect, the social scientist needs to understand the underlying factors as well as to grasp the personal perspective of those experiencing power exercised over them. For Escobar those views are self-understandings of individual respondents in a research and while interpreting this information, one should not fall into the trap of taking all that is said as truth. On the contrary "it means that the interpretive social scientist has to take into account people's own descriptions as the starting point of theory, that is, of what has to be explained" (Escobar, 1995, pl 101). This study values the respondents' opinion but this will be examined critically in connection with other social interactions within the particular local urban area.

The soundness of the methodology and the degree to which this can be demonstrated determines the extent to which the research results will have clarity. This chapter will examine the research methodology applied in this thesis. It will be observed that, although qualitative methods have been the main methodology employed in gathering data, analysing it and in presenting the issues, quantitative methods have been used to clarify a number of topics.

How the methodology will impact upon the analysis will be part of the methodology examination. After the discussion of the methodology and reasons for the choice of methodology, the areas where primary data was collected will be examined. The reasons for choosing these areas will be given, and the type of interviews conducted as well as who were interviewed will be presented.

My main research methods are the interview, a critical and pragmatic analysis of government documents, and a review of other secondary material. How and where new data was collected, generated and analysed will constitute a significant part of this chapter. Furthermore, the chapter will examine the three urban areas of Kinondoni in Dar, Moshi and Iringa, with regard to why they were chosen, and how they differ from each other. In general the research is expected to produce data of a qualitative nature. Using the long semi-structured interview, which according to MacCracken is the most powerful qualitative research methodology in gathering the stories, revealing the experiences, struggles and interactions of various urban actors that have a bearing in the development process, (MacCracken, 1988; see also Findley, 1993, p.28) a new understanding of development in Tanzania will be advanced.

A critical analysis and review of the literature has provided the background material for the thesis and an understanding of the major issues involved in the field of sustainable development. The literature review is an essential part of this study. This is the case because social research is concerned not only with description but also with ‘understanding’ social reality as Gilbert rightly pointed out (Gilbert, 1993, p. xi). Furthermore, Macdonald and Tipton observed that “the modern state has an enormous apparatus for generating fiscal and economic records. These are usually the province of economists rather than social researchers, but those concerned with matters of social policy and welfare are interested in these materials as well” (Macdonald & Tipton, 1993, p.189). However, a sophisticated use of data obtained from government records in Tanzania is not by itself the most appropriate approach, and all data has to be used with caution because many numbers are not reliable. All the same, using this data with quantitative methods has been helpful and where necessary a number of sources were used to increase reliability. Both qualitative and quantitative methods are therefore used because, as Ackroyd argued, both methods are equally valuable, (Ackroyd, 2004, p.138) depending on the type of data or subject studied and can be used to complement each other in order to give a more balanced view of social reality. Moreover, “insightful empirical research is a creative activity in which valuable

insights cannot be produced by the routine use of particular research techniques” (Ackroyd, 2004, p.138) but by using all the research tools available to the researcher including a combination of methods to study the same subject. This has been a guiding principle in my study of sustainable urban development in Tanzania. Qualitative methods were for the most part more appropriate and were given emphasis, but the use of empirical support such as statistical data, which is part of quantitative research technique, was not ignored.

This study is concerned primarily with the social aspects of sustainable development and thus government documents with social welfare issues have become very important to the thesis. Sustainable urban development in Tanzania is indeed concerned with social policy and the welfare of urban dwellers in the short as well as in the long run. Data from both the central and local government records have been gathered. A critical study of the documents provided vital information in preparation for the fieldwork research as well as in the analysis of the newly generated data. The literature review and analysis proved to be a very good stepping-stone towards the interviews conducted in the fieldwork and a very useful tool in the writing up stage. It clarified issues and helped to sharpen the research questions, yet at the same time leaving enough room for flexibility. Hodder-Williams captured this kind of preparation for the research in a very enlightening manner:

Much may be got from government reports and statistics; much may be elicited from published sources like newspapers or local newsletters; much may be garnered from archival sources, from letters, petitions or minutes of association meetings. But much will still be needed from the participants themselves, for they alone can fill in the gaps of the written word (Hodder-Williams, 1990, pp.101-102).

In the field the researcher is expected to gather first-hand information not simply through interviews and words said by participants, but also by observing their actions as well as how they relate to each other and to the social scientist. For Michael de Jongh, “to inhibit any of these is to render the fieldworker at least partially ‘blind,’ ‘deaf’, or at least insensitive” (De Jongh, 1990, p. 46). Following this important observation, primary data has been collected during the field research conducted in Tanzania between October 2000 and January 2001 and in

the follow-up research in September 2002. As Hodder-Williams predicted, the primary data obtained through interviews during the fieldwork was used to fill the gaps that the secondary data was not able to capture, namely the current attitude and views of the urban dwellers about sustainable development in Tanzania. It has also enabled me to grasp the understanding of the local government's officials and the urban councils' development priorities and how these reflect or fail to reflect the electorate's priorities for sustainable development.

Various research methods have been used creatively in order to understand the complex social reality of urban life in Tanzania and therefore, where necessary, many policy areas such as health care and education, as well as taxation have been examined in connection with the official position and the electorate's perception. It is important to note that "there is much to be gained by thinking creatively about the utilisation of research techniques, rather than simply applying them as others have done in the past" (Ackroyd, 2004, p.160). Nevertheless, critical discourse analysis has offered an appealing methodology for sustainable urban development in Tanzania. That is because, seeking to understand and explain the social reality and dynamism of municipal councils and the officials who do not always agree with policies they are assumed to have taken part in formulating, on the one hand, and on the other, the urban residents whose lives are restricted or enhanced because of those policies, requires a methodology that "seeks to reconcile theory and empirical research" (Jones, 2004, p.43). According to Fairclough, critical discourse analysis has been used with regard "to the different ways of structuring areas of knowledge and social practice" (Fairclough, 1992, p.3). Fairclough has dealt with the issue of critical discourse in a number of his works and has, as Mills argued, gone beyond description of social interactions and presented an analysis of how those interactions reveal the complexity of power relations in a society (Mills, 2004, p.136). Furthermore, according to Jones, in analysing policy documents, critical realists can reconstruct the process in order to understand the causal mechanisms of particular issues. "By referring to such mechanisms, critical realists of course try

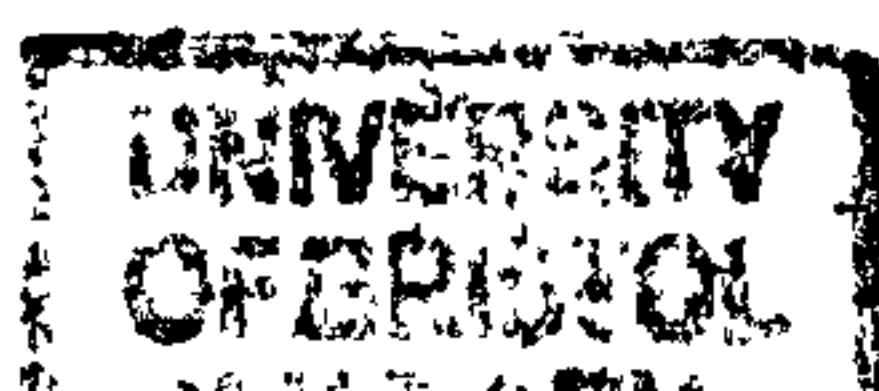
to go beyond the recognition that something produces some change, to an understanding of what it is about that object that enables it to do this” (Jones, 2004, p.44).

The study will use a variety of approaches, ‘multi-methodology’ as Mingers termed it, combining mainly qualitative approaches with quantitative techniques. The reason for this is that social reality is complex and, as such, any one individual method may not be able to give the clarity that would be given by a combination of methodologies. According to him, the combination of methodologies is best suited in researching social reality. He argued further that

The fundamental tenet of multi-methodology is the importance of combining together techniques or methods in dealing with real-world situations whether the purpose is pure research or a practical intervention. More specifically, the combination should involve both hard/soft, qualitative/quantitative methods (Mingers, 2004, p. 181-182).

Various research forms, among which critical realism has played a major role, have adopted the use of combined methodologies. According to Sayer, the most basic claim of critical realism, “is simply that there is a world which exists largely independently of the researcher’s knowledge of it” (Sayer, 2004, p.6). Mixed methods are therefore useful in understanding the complex social reality enabling the researcher to present a more coherent and comprehensive account by examining different perspectives (Greene, 2005, p.275). This study has been conducted within the perspective of critical realism.

Qualitative methodology demands flexibility so as to take into consideration the changing nature of social research. According to Campbell, the research project should be undertaken with flexibility and readiness to adjust so that it fits to the current prevailing situation on the ground (Campbell, 1997). Unlike positivism, this approach within critical realism accommodates the possibility of evolving the methodology so that the best issues in the field will not be lost because of some rigid methodology. Positivism dominated the twentieth century as a philosophical theory and a scientific method of inquiry. As a methodology for social science, it follows strict rules, giving no room for flexibility in the field. Positivists “are keen on standardized interviews and sceptical of non-standardized approaches” (Fielding, 1993, p.151).



Within the flexible conception of qualitative methodology I went to the field with an open mind without having chosen a particular model, so as to make choices that correspond to the situation in urban Tanzania. However, the study I had done before going to the field had given me a number of possible models from which I could choose. Furthermore, it is evident that, despite all the theoretical debates, the changes in the research process are inevitable because “in reality, research takes place in a political context, including the micro politics of interpersonal relationships and the politics of research units” (Arber, 1993, p.33). The implication is that the researcher and respondents, as well as the methods used, have a bearing on the research process, which should therefore be changed according to the prevailing situation in order to respond meaningfully to newly arising problems and questions that might demand that a new set of respondents be chosen (Hodder-Williams, 1990, p. 103; Schurink, 1990, p.205). However, it was only in the field that I, as researcher, realised how significant such observations were going to be. For example, soon after arriving in Dar, it was observed that the government had formed a Local Government Reform Team to oversee the necessary changes in the way municipal councils and other local authorities operated. Though not part of the initial group identified for interview, this new set of people was included as they were holding important information about the relationship between the local government and the Central government.

Pierre Hugo saw this flexible approach to social research as essential social research involving complex relationships (Hugo, 1990, p. VII). Hugo’s conviction is that flexibility, as a qualitative research approach, improves the researcher’s chances of succeeding in the process and that is why it was adopted in this study despite focusing on critical realism as a method of inquiry. This flexibility and combination of methods brings a scientific shift in the researcher’s identity and enables them to be in touch with the complex social realities, which are being investigated. “This shift of identification, from the depersonalised to the personal and immediate, can only add dignity and mutual satisfaction to the formerly distant process of social

inquiry” (Hugo, 1990, p. vii). Realism and flexibility has been key to the way data was collected during the fieldwork.

In applying the method described above to this study analysing the documents and data from the selected research areas, a consideration will be made as to how the institutions work, how they differ from each other and where some work better, why and how does it do so? What structural interplay and community interactions have helped to produce developmental change and how do the various actors perceive the changes, and finally, what effect does that perception have to the whole process of urban development in Tanzania. According to Mills,

A concern for the relation between the individual interaction and the wider discursive and social structure not only makes for a form of analysis which is more complex and more finely nuanced, but also makes for an analysis which is self-critical in terms of its own claims to ‘truth’, and is aware of the dangers of naively ascribing meaning to texts. It is this type of fusion of larger social questions with smaller-scale analytical questions which holds the greatest potential for the future work in this field (Mills, 2004, p. 141).

This is therefore important for the thesis because the discursive nature of local government structures in the process of policy formulation in Tanzania is such that the interactions between the officials and the residents need to be studied in order to answer the many ensuing small questions about their impact upon individual members of the community and how in the end this might help or hinder the process of development.

Because of the fact that sustainable development is a policy that was initiated by the national government, any study that will not consider the interactions between the local and national levels of governance will risk missing the essential aspects that have been instrumental in producing social economic changes. Where the officials still act as Central government agencies in the local government, they are usually the dominant group that determines most of the policies through various methods. According to Weber, this has a significant role in the analysis of societal transformation. He argued:

Domination in the most general sense is one of the most important elements of social action. Of course not every form of social action reveals a structure of dominancy. But in most of the varieties of social action domination plays a considerable role, even where it is not obvious at first sight...Without exception every sphere of social action is profoundly influenced by structures of dominancy (Weber, 1986, p. 28).

Therefore the relationship between the dominant groups within the municipal council with the rest is one of the iterations that deserve to be examined in relation to the policies set forth and in relation to the impact and reactions they generate from among the member of the society at the receiving end.

An evaluation of the historical background will show history's bearing on the development of an urban area and give the immediate context. How efficiently each centre has managed to use the available resources, and how it has liaised with Central government in its efforts towards the goal of sustainable urban development will be considered. The effect of centralised government policies in local development will also be examined and the task left for the municipal councils to implement sometimes unpopular policies will be considered. It will be necessary to include in the analysis the fact that the urban poor have not fared well in the struggle for economic well being as they are forced to survive in the informal economy. Consideration will also be given to the financial resources available to a particular urban area, which may include grants from the Central government, donors and the funds collected locally. Similarly, the human resources, which include the skills of the workforce, the competence of leadership, and the participation of local communities will be examined. The discourse will also include some examination of the economic activities taking place. These economic activities have to be considered in their totality in terms of formal and informal activities, each of which plays a major role in the development of urban areas in Tanzania. The role of local structures such as wards and sub-wards in giving the local people a voice in matters that affect them will be given importance. An economic discourse has it focus on growth and increased incomes that helps to improve people's purchasing power. Contrary to this, "the realist view of social science accounts for the sense people have of being constrained, or enabled, by their circumstances in terms of the structures in which they are located" (Ackroyd, 2004, p.147).

According to Considine, even when the political environment is dominated by overwhelming governmental structures, "the preferred world that is implied is one of respect for

everyone's right to influence what happens around them" (Considine, 2005, p.10). Put succinctly, effective development policies necessitate devolution of political powers to the local governments because this increases the chances of local actors participating in setting the development agenda. Choices made by individual policy makers are of great significance in understanding the reasons behind certain policies. Although their political activities and behaviour might be constrained, it is not determined. It is seen that the realisation of sustainable urban development depends upon a number of factors, of which good policies involving the local actors are of central importance.

My central argument is that sustainable development is a function of the interaction between many individuals, institutions and many factors among which three have been selected to enrich the sustainable development analysis of the research areas. The first is the interactions of individuals within institutions that produce development policy. The second factor is the interactions between the institutions and the individuals whose lives are affected by the policies. The third is the structure of governance and how institutions are used or not used in the distribution of resources and in the implementation of policies. Before dealing with how the research data was used, the following overview of where the fieldwork was conducted will offer a context in which the process has taken place.

2.2 Areas Studied

The urban municipalities of Kinondoni in Dar es Salaam, Moshi and Iringa are areas that have been selected as case studies for this research. A number of reasons led to the choice of conducting the study in these three urban areas. First, these areas have been selected as distinct local contexts for studying social interactions between local government, residents and how this affects the process of improving the people's well being. I chose Kinondoni in Dar es Salaam (Dar) because of its location in the historic capital, and now the main commercial capital, and the most important urban area in the country. Moshi was chosen because it was selected as a 'growth pole' in the Second Development Plan and was preferred to other municipalities

because of its specific economic and human resources and the role these have played in the national development agenda. By contrast, Iringa was selected because it was neglected and left out of the Second Development Plan, and yet has brought itself up to a position where it can no longer be ignored. In fact it became one of the urban areas chosen in 1996 to replicate the success of sustainable Dar Project. These three case studies thus reflect three distinct urban environments and should provide a *nuanced* analysis of urban developments generally. The historical background, economic activities, governance structures and institutions will be analysed in connection with the official views about the development process alongside the resident's views on the same topic. How these interactions produce social economic change because of specific policies for development will be examined in each area and contrasted with the other two.

Second, there has been a relative change in the position that each of these three urban areas occupied at different times in the national hierarchy of urban areas as well as a significant shift in the Central government's perception of the importance of each of them in the development process. The government of Tanzania adopted different policies towards them after independence. Dar was the political, administration and commercial capital soon after independence. The city lost its status as the political capital and eventually remained only the commercial capital when "in 1973 the Government decided to shift the national capital from Dar es Salaam to Dodoma" (The Ministry of Lands and Human Settlement Development, 2000, p.1). Tanzania's national assembly moved to Dodoma in February, 1996, but many government offices remain in the original national capital, of Dar-es-Salaam.

In 2000, the city council of Dar was divided into three municipal councils. Moshi on the other hand has been a major source of entrepreneurs and many of its Chagga population have taken a central stage in the business activities of almost every town in the country. It was one of the nine urban areas chosen in the second Five Year Plan 1969- 1974 to be development centres or growth poles and was selected for this study because it presents an interesting comparison to

Dar and also because of its particular contribution in the national economy. Iringa did not share any of these advantages because it was not one of the growth poles. However, recently it has been elevated to be one of the twelve municipalities in mainland Tanzania, three of which are in Dar. Iringa was chosen from among the smaller urban areas because of its particular traits of very active local actors and a local government that has been attempting to involve various stakeholders.

Finally, these areas were chosen because good management of my limited finances was very important. The fact that I had previously lived for some time in each of the urban areas was of considerable help in establishing links and finding affordable means of operating in the particular areas. On a strictly limited budget, and through the use of support such as accommodation from family and friends, I was able to achieve much more than expected in my two fieldwork visits. I succeeded in interviewing a total of 138 people, many of whom had to be visited a number of times. At this point it should be noted that a detailed examination of these three urban areas of Kinondoni, Moshi and Iringa will be done in chapters four, five and six respectively, and a critical comparative analysis of the three areas will be done in chapter seven.

2. 3 Data Collection and Analysis

The choice of research sample was done mainly through a purposive non-probability method whereby the chance of some elements to be included is zero and the researcher focuses on those individuals who best suit the purpose of the study. According to Arber, “Where the researcher’s aim is to generate theory and a wider understanding of social processes or social actions, the representativeness of the sample may be of less importance and the best sampling strategy may be focused or judgmental sampling” (Arber, 1993, p.71). The purpose of the study is to deepen the understanding of the process of urban development in Tanzania, social actions that enhances this process or hinders it as well as to find ways in which this process could be sustained. It is, therefore, important that the main stakeholders should be purposefully included in the study, rather than leaving this choice to probability whereby some of the key actors could

be left out. The process of urban development is guided by a number of actors of whom the municipal councils have been playing a major role. It has been deemed necessary, therefore, to spend time with them in order to be familiar with how they set forth their policies and strategies for sustainable development. Given the limited resources, including time as well as the moderate number of people to be interviewed in this qualitative research on sustainable urban development in Tanzania, a purposive sampling was made. In Arber's words,

Although researchers usually seek a representative sample of the subgroup they wish to study, they often have only sufficient resources to study a small number of people. This is particularly likely if repeated interviews are used to increase understanding of social processes (Arber, 1993, p72).

The research sample had three main categories of people in Kinondoni, Moshi and Iringa. The first category, which was formed purely on the basis of purposive sampling, is that of municipal officials and councillors. These are the people who are involved in the decision-making process and in formulating development policies. This group included appointed council officers and elected councillors. Apart from these, six Central government officials were interviewed in Dar who gave a valuable overview to the urban development situation in the whole country. One of these was the Principal Secretary of the Ministry of Finance. In Dar it was found that the local government had recently been restructured and divided into three separate municipalities of Kinondoni, Ilala and Temeke, instead of one city council. In the light of this restructuring that took place at the beginning of 2000, a decision was made to focus on Kinondoni municipality because it was the municipality whose profile most suited the research objectives. In Kinondoni six officers were interviewed, most of who were heads of departments, and one elected councillor. The general election which took place in October 2000 made it difficult to see the councillors at the time, because most of them were new and had not officially taken office. In Moshi, six appointed council officers and two elected councillors were interviewed. While in Iringa, six appointed council officers and two elected councillors were also interviewed. Because of the difficulties presented by the elections, a follow-up research period was carried out in September 2002 during which gaps were filled.

The method of research interview chosen was a form of qualitative research interview whose goal is “to see the research topic from the perspective of the interviewee and to understand how and why they come to have this particular perspective” (King, 2004, p.11). Qualitative interviews produce qualitative data. According to Anderson, “qualitative data is the term given to data based on meanings which are expressed through words and language” (Anderson, 2004, p.104). Quantitative data on the other hand refers to the kind of data that can be counted and thus expressed in terms of quantities (Anderson, 2004). However for Fielding, “a good qualitative analysis is able to document its claim to reflect some of the truth of a phenomenon by reference to systematically gathered data” (Fielding, 1993, p. 168). A comparative analysis will be made about the government officials’ views on development, existing strategies and what could be done to make urban development successfully sustainable. The perception of the officer’s relationship to the elected councillors and how that has affected development policies will be examined. Furthermore, their views concerning the relationship between the municipalities and Central government as well as its impact on local development will be included in the critical analysis. The gulf existing between the officers’ conception of developmental progress made and the people’s understanding is of great concern because the policies councils formulate are usually based on the officer’s understanding of what should be done on the ground to realise sustainable development.

The type of interviews employed in this study were semi-standardised qualitative interviews whereby the main questions were asked in the same way to all respondents belonging to the same category but the order varied according to what was seen to be most suitable to the respondent in question. Fielding made an interesting comment about this method of interviewing. “The interviewer is thus able to adapt the research instrument to the level of comprehension and articulacy of the respondent, and to handle the fact that in responding to a question, people often also provide answers to questions we were going to ask later” (Fielding, 1993, pp.136, 140). Serious probing was used to get more information from the respondents,

though great care was taken not to impose views on the respondent or to incline them to particular way of seeing things. Some officials preferred to have written questionnaires or to see the main questions before the actual interview date. This was flexibly done but the results show that some of those who requested the questionnaires did not give their own opinions in a number of questions. They gave the official stance, which could as well be found in the local government reports, and did not respond to some of the questions that required them to give their personal evaluation of the prevailing urban situation. A number of these officers accepted informal meetings where they gave their opinions. The officials who actually responded to the questions as raised in the interviews gave very valuable opinions not available in official reports and even when their opinion supported the official position, their emphasis was always very different thus shedding light on what they believed were the main issues affecting the success of sustainable development.

Attempts were made to include the opposition political parties in the first fieldwork, but that did not materialise initially. That was partly because of timing, in the sense that it was soon after elections and many opposition party officials were refusing to recognise the results despite international observers' conclusion that the elections were free and fair in the mainland Tanzania. It was also because of a cautious warning given in the early stages of the fieldwork by a number of friendly officials that if I was seen to associate myself with opposition leaders, some government officials might not agree to give interviews. The solution adopted was to interview the officials first, then the opposition leaders. However, more time would then be needed to finish interviewing the government officials and then opposition party officials but in fact there was hardly enough time to finish interviewing the officials. Furthermore, to avoid unnecessary conflicts, which would have prolonged the time needed for the interview, I chose to be neutral in order to gain access to the material I needed from the officials. Hugo had observed this as an important point for most social researchers (Hugo, 1993). Not siding either with the ruling party or opposition helped to raise more subjective views from the respondents, which on

analysis have objective values. In encountering occasions of conflicting views of the ruling party members and the opposition I was mindful of Hugo's conclusions from South Africa.

The social scientist has no special qualification as a moralist; his qualification if any lies in his trained capacity to assess empirical evidence. Part and parcel of this training is the discipline of detachment-that is, an ability to look at a situation clearly, to bracket one's own feelings and convictions in the effort to understand what others feel and believe, to listen rather than preach; most important of all, to look at reality even if what comes into view is very much different from what one would wish to be there (Hugo, 1990, p. 127).

These ideals were much used in the fieldwork though it was also recognised that it is very difficult to realise such a vision. Therefore, opposition leaders were omitted from the first phase of the research. However, members of the opposition party were included. They were numbered among the householders and petty traders whom I interviewed, along with members of the ruling party. Details of this will be given in the paragraph dealing with the third category of people I interviewed. The actual work of collecting data in Tanzania was a very nice experience, but some aspects were very challenging, especially in finding access for the interviews.

The interviews lasted between forty minutes and one hour and a half each. A handful of them lasted longer because, after the official ending of the interview as such, we continued talking about ordinary day-to-day things and vital information came out with regard to the operations of the local government and its approach to development. Some of the respondents were openly very bitter with the way their municipal authorities operated without taking the views of the urban poor into account. Having background knowledge of the respondent's cultural set-up, the length of the interviews was perceived to be appropriate (Pendleton, 1990, p.166). The effort to gather data took three months and two weeks from October 2000 to Jan 2001. However in the first three weeks, little was achieved because the research permits were not forthcoming and the police were arresting people who were carrying out research without permits. All the same, interview appointments were made during this time using the letters from the University of Bristol and the University of Dar es Salaam though unfortunately many respondents in Kinondoni did not keep their appointments, and the process had to be repeated many times. On the whole the research experience was positive and very enriching.

The second category of people interviewed was NGO officials and representatives of the main religious groups in those urban areas, including the Christian and Muslim leaders, all of whom have been influential urban stakeholders. In this category, five people were interviewed in Dar, seven in Moshi and six in Iringa. The aim was to find what role they had been playing in the process of urban development, what were their views about the municipal council's performance and what they saw as development priorities in the area. In the analysis this is important because it shows from another set of perspectives whether policies are perceived to have reflected local needs or not, and to what extent the government's priorities are the civil society's priorities. Observations were made regarding indices of development such as housing, health, water supply and education. Questions were also raised about how religious leaders thought the council allocated its resources and services to various individuals and groups in the municipality. All of this information was vital in the research process.

In the third category of people interviewed some were selected purposefully and others to some extent according to probability. This is the category of the electorate, the ordinary urban dwellers and those involved in small or petty trading in the three urban areas. First, within each of the three urban areas, three wards were selected. Two of the wards according to the council's records were seen as belonging to the low-income areas and one of higher income. Once the three wards had been selected, the plan was randomly to pick six people in each ward and arrange an interview with them. Out of the six, three would have to be households and the other three at their place of work in small business or petty trading. For the households and petty traders, if one was invited to participate in the study by accepting an interview but chose not to do so, the next household was approached until someone willing to take part was found in the selected area. In this group, eighteen people were interviewed in Iringa and the same number in Moshi and Kinondoni in Dar. In this category, the target was reached because the problems of access were not serious and having decided on flexible choice of respondents, it means that I could move to the next petty trader if one did not want to be interviewed. Furthermore, good preparation had been

made in trying to understand what the main issues were and what the people's aspirations were before starting the interviews. According to Hugo, "Such special knowledge helps the interviewer gain access in-situ; it helps him understand the respondent who refers to local detailed information, it provides him with the universe of discourse needed, and gives the respondent respect for and confidence in the interviewer" (Hugo, 1990, p. 112). Many of my respondents were amazed how I came to know about their development schemes such as forming groups through which they could obtain low interest loans from the local authority and from the micro-finance organisations, since I had been there only for a short time. Because I had this knowledge they were more confident in responding to my questions, as they believed I was interested in their welfare and issues that were of great importance to them. Also, the fact that I had lived in each of the areas in the past while doing my secondary education, it was easier enough to mention a few places to start a conversation which ended in the trader accepting an interview. Also, because the interviews were conducted in Swahili, it was easier for the respondents to communicate and I had to translate their ideas into English. With that I was not clearly identified as an outsider, unlike Emma Tarlo who argued about her experience in researching in India talking about the 1975-1977 'emergency'.

"It is even less natural to be talking about it to a foreign anthropologist and her assistant (a young Indian man) – both of whom are clearly identifiable as 'outsiders' Why should such outsiders meddle in the potentially traumatic pasts of 'insiders'? (Tarlo, 2003, p.121).

Contrarily, my respondents' main concern was whether research such as I was conducting could make any concrete difference to their situation and give poor men and women a better quality of life. Some of them felt empowered by taking part in the interviews as an opportunity to make their resentment known so as to reclaim their power back from the leaders who did not care about their plight. Though in a different context, Tarlo's experience in India is instructive. She argues that, "central to this new notion of people's power was the idea that the people could not be duped beyond a certain point" (Tarlo, 2003, p. 204). It is because they felt duped in the first place and because they thought they did not have much opportunity to make their voices heard that many petty traders wished to make their complaints and had no problem accepting the interviews.

A comparative analysis will be made between the responses from the relatively well off wards and those in low income ones with regard to a number of issues concerning sustainable development and whether they have been consulted through their representatives about major policy areas. Their priorities for development and those set forth by the municipal council would be compared. The analysis will be done critically keeping in mind O'Brien's observations about the essence and skills needed in social science research. "It requires skills in collecting and analysing data, in developing and applying concepts, in assessing evidence and in presenting coherent and consistent arguments to demonstrate the significance of empirical observations" (O'Brien, 1993, p. 2). This study intends to use the empirical data appropriately to provide evidence for the arguments made in the analysis of sustainable urban development in Tanzania. Table two in the following section will account for all the people interviewed.

2. 4 Generating New Data

The role of the fieldwork in Tanzania was to generate new data that could not be found in the written documents. This type of data generated in the field, termed 'soft data' by Hodder-Williams, has been mainly used to complement what the written documents could offer as well as breaking new ground in understanding social reality as conveyed by people's perceptions, attitudes and knowledge of their prevailing social situation (Hodder-Williams, 1990, p. 102). In this process, the generative strategy was flexible, putting more emphasis on "understanding social reality through the medium of good-quality data gathered rather than sophisticated number crunching" (Simon, 1990, p.256-257). Indeed, as Fielding put it, "the flexibility of non-standardised methods is a major attraction and many influential and sophisticated analyses have been based entirely on interview data" (Fielding, 1993, p.138).

The data generative strategy intended to make the questions interesting to the respondents so that they would give the required information more readily. According to Simon, this would be done by consulting the potential respondents and using their views to generate themes, which would in turn be used to formulate interview questions (Simon, 1990, p. 257). This study could

not follow such a pathway not simply because of the shortage of time and resources but also because of a conviction that it is possible to gain access, and to find out what are the main issues, in the early stages of the fieldwork through interaction with people, reviewing current issues, and from friendly officials, as well as friends who live and know the research areas. Furthermore, it is seen here that most of the valuable information generated in the interviews came forth after gaining the confidence of the respondents. This made the respondents feel that they were doing something important and that what they were doing was valuable. Moreover, encouraging the respondents and empathising with them made a difference, as it will be seen in the data collected in the first few days and the later interviews in Iringa and Moshi. This was one of the most important pieces of advice given to me by Prof. Hodder-Williams, my advisor, about the fieldwork. In his own words, talking about good researchers, he made it clear that:

They are also good listeners, prepared to let an informant go off at a tangent, prodding an informant on with encouraging words, showing surprised interest even when hearing a story or an argument for the sixth time, above all creating the impression that the informant is important and special (Hodder-Williams, 1990, p. 108).

These views have been supported by many social scientists. For example Swart argued, that “it is the level of empathetic awareness achieved which, in the final analysis, determines the degree of cooperation and the extent of information received in the field” (Swart, 1990, p.271).

New data in this study has been generated through interviews and observation of the key respondents’ interaction with each other. According to De Jongh, it is important to include in the research both the verbal statements obtained in the interviews and the observed behaviour of the respondents including their interactive communications. In his words, “to ignore one or the other of these two domains of reality is to exclude a valuable source of information” (De Jongh, 1990, p.68). These interactions form the basis of the critical discourse analysis using the data thus generated. Valuable information was obtained through observation during the meetings between the councillors and government officers in the municipalities as well as how the officers conducted themselves in their working environment in Kinondoni, Moshi and Iringa. Other

observations concerned the urban poor who were interviewed at home or at their working place in the market along urban roads where petty traders operated.

Although I had a notebook and a few papers with printed questions, these were rarely used during the interviews which were all conducted in Swahili as mentioned above. While conducting the interviews I made a few important notes to take note of such things as numbers of appointed councillors etc. The notes were all in English. This was a decision made early on in order to simplify the task of data analysis and evaluation, also to make sure the main points were not forgotten or lost in translation. Having introduced and run a Swahili language course for Bristol City Council Adult Learning Service, for several years, translating the text came naturally and did not prove to be problematic.

The questions about how many councillors were there and how many belonged to the ruling or opposition party were dropped in the research process because it was realised that these details could be found in the council records even though it was soon after the elections. The rest of the notes were made as soon after the interview as possible, before visiting another respondent. Where it was seen necessary, more details were written down during the interview. In the last few days, for example in Kinondoni, many respondents accepted interviews at times very close to each other and that made it difficult to make notes after the interview. In these cases quick sketches were made during the interview to denote the essential and major points and the mood of the interview so that they could be expanded later. Some pieces of information found to be missing in this process were covered in the second fieldwork visit. A few officials demanded questionnaires. These were filled out in front of the respondent and then kept in a file. Some of these officials talked more after the questionnaires had been put away, and such information was added on the questionnaires later.

Apart from the interviews included in table 2.1 later in this chapter, six Central government officials were interviewed in Dar as well as one Branch Chairman of the Ruling party, Chama

Cha Mapinduzi (CCM). The interviews went well, so I am confident about the quality of the data obtained during the fieldwork in Tanzania.

2. 5 Follow-up Fieldwork

Although the total of people (103) interviewed in the first stage of the fieldwork was quite satisfactory, a number of questions arose which necessitated a second visit to the field. First, as mentioned earlier, the number of councillors interviewed was smaller than expected in all areas, the reason being the elections, which had just taken place and the fact that most of the councillors had not yet taken office. Second, no local opposition party officials were interviewed in the first visit for reasons already given above, although this was somehow taken care of by interviewing people in areas that were dominated by the opposition parties. Furthermore, having finished organising the material from that fieldwork, I realised that there were gaps I needed to fill in the raw data generated during the first experience in the field. In addition to this I needed to deepen my understanding of the dynamics of urban development and in particular how the process could be sustained in Tanzania. It was necessary, therefore, to conduct repeat interviews in line with Arber's observation that "repeat interviews are used to increase understanding of social process" (Arber, 1993, p. 72). The follow-up research was also meant to be a method of assessing the representativeness of the sample used in the first visit to Tanzania. Presenting the need for assessing how representative a sample is Arber argued that direct or indirect methods could be used. "Direct methods involve further follow-ups" (Arber, 2001, p. 75). In the first field research the councillors were under-represented and thus a follow-up was necessary. Furthermore, things had changed slightly (or were supposed to have changed after two years) in the three urban areas researched and, because first hand observation was deemed crucial, some follow up field research was carried out in September 2002. As Nigel Fielding rightly stated, "direct observation is more reliable than second-hand observation" (Fielding, 2001, p. 157). During this period I presented a paper at the University of Dar es Salaam using the initial findings from the first fieldwork. The paper was entitled, "Local

Government and how its relationship, or sometimes conflict, with the Central government is affecting sustainable urban development in Tanzania" (Chaligha, 2002, p.1). The paper examined critically the role of local government in urban development and its prospects of sustaining that progress. The feedback I got from the presentation helped in addressing some of the gaps and how to approach the respondents in order to get the necessary data. It also gave an opportunity to meet and discuss with many academics with similar interests, together with an interview with Dr. Mogella who has been lecturing about local government for a number of years at the University of Dar es Salaam. He was able to give good historical insight into the local government and the changes over the years.

In the follow-up research, the same three categories of people were interviewed in Kinondoni, Moshi and Iringa. It was easier to find access because the people concerned were already known to me and wanted to know how I was doing. Some of the officers wondered if I was planning to come and work in the ministry of local government. Within the first category, I was able to re-interview the same six appointed officers in each of the three urban areas to see how their perception had changed or not changed over the period of two years. I was also able to increase the number of councillors interviewed in all the three places. In Kinondoni two more councillors were interviewed, while in Moshi one more councillor was interviewed and the same was the case for Iringa. Therefore a total of four more councillors were interviewed in the follow-up research than in the first while the number of appointed officers was unchanged. In addition, I was also able to interview one local opposition party official for each of the three urban areas. Most of the interviews lasted just over half an hour, although a few lasted for about an hour. The number of people interviewed in the follow-up research is included in table 2.1 below. In the second category only one respondent was added, that is the University lecturer.

For the third category things were different. I was able to re-interview a member of three houses in each of the three wards in Kinondoni, Moshi and Iringa, because I had selected every sixth house along a street so that if anyone else wanted to conduct the same research they would

have similar research outcomes and experiences (Fielding, 2001, p. 155). The inhabitants of one of the Kinondoni houses had changed. It was not possible to interview the same petty traders because, by the very nature of their business, they move from place to place. In fact it would be difficult to find them at the same place after one month, let alone after two years. It was only in Iringa that I managed to see one of them and he had settled with a small corner shop. For him things had improved dramatically. For the rest of the petty traders, I had to find new ones and conduct fresh interviews. It seemed easier, though, because using my experience from the first fieldwork I knew the best time to approach the traders. For example, early morning before they made a sale was a bad time, and so was late afternoon when they were anxious that they had not sold enough. In the first fieldwork I had learnt that it was best to approach them in between these two times because then they had sold some items and still hoped to have done well by evening. In total I was able to interview 27 additional petty traders, 9 in Dar, Moshi and Iringa respectively. In the follow-up research therefore, a further thirty-five people were interviewed, making a total of 138 people interviewed in all during the research. The following table indicates the people interviewed to generate new data.

Table 2.1: The Data Generating Sample

⇒ Categories	1.1a Municipal Officers & Opposition Party Official	1.1b CGO & CCM & Lect	1.2 Municipal Councillors	2. NGOs and Civil Society	3.1 Electorate at Home	3.2 Electorate Petty trading	Total
Urban Areas ↓							
Kinondoni	7	8	3	6	9	18	51
Moshi	7	-	3	7	9	18	44
Iringa	7	-	3	6	9	18	43
Total	21	8	9	18	27	54	138

CGO-Central government Officer; CCM-Chama Cha Mapinduzi Politician

Data generated from the fieldwork in Tanzania where 138 people were interviewed, 103 of whom, were interviewed during the initial research in 2000 while 35 people were interviewed in the follow-up research in 2002.

The experience in the field was very enriching, and valuable data that no one else has collected and which could not be obtained in any other way, was carefully gathered.

Conclusions

Research methodologies are of great importance in helping us to understand social reality and social science itself. They not only give guidance to scientific inquiry but also enable the reader to understand the nature of the study, major issues and its main focus. This chapter has shown that a combination of qualitative research methodologies and quantitative techniques with a major focus on flexible critical discourse analysis are used to study three urban areas in Tanzania. The methods were considered appropriate for gathering information about the complex reality of sustainable urban development and the newly generated data will be analysed in later chapters. However, it is imperative that the study is grounded in its social policy context. Thus, the next chapter will present the policy orientation in urban development of Tanzania and will link this to the current impact of interactions and social action on urban dwellers.

Chapter 3. Urban Policy in Tanzania

Sustainable urban development is a relatively new concept in Tanzania and in academic circles as well. As mentioned earlier, sustainable urban development became prominent in the early 1990s when the Earth summit launched Agenda 21 (Barton, 2000) but it was not until the second half of that decade that Tanzania explicitly adopted policies to foster this form of development in urban areas. Indeed according to the National Human Settlement Policy (NHSP), the sustainable Dar Project (SDP) was launched in 1992 but as a national policy it was adopted by the environmental policy of 1997 (Ministry of Lands and Human Settlements Development, (MLHSD) 2000, p.17&19). Since then, the commitment to sustainable development has been reiterated by the government in its policies aimed at transforming and improving the living conditions of Tanzanians. It has therefore been adopted in major policies such as Vision 2025, Local Government Laws (LGL), Public Service Reform Programme (PSRP), National Poverty Eradication Strategy (NPES) and Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP). Sustainable development has also been made an aspect of other important public service policies such as education, healthcare and human settlement and national water policy.

Before discussing these policies, it is important to consider the history of local government in Tanzania, albeit briefly, in order to understand the context in which urban development has been taking place and the institutional environment in which sustainability is being envisioned.

3. 1 Urban Development Policy and Local Government History From 1961

At the time of independence, urban and general development policies were closely linked with the institutions inherited from the colonial government. Tanzania largely adopted the local government system from the British and this consisted of three institutional categories, “the native authorities, the district and town councils, and one municipality” (Max, 1991, p.27). Dar was the only municipality before independence. According to Max, the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) government made choices to keep the institutions in order to speed the task of development. For Max:

At that time of independence there were very few institutions which could have been used by the young nation to meet the aspirations of the people of rapid development, and this is why it was only reasonable to adopt existing institutions for that purpose (Max, 1991, p.26).

According to Loftier, “Not only are state institutions forced to deal with issues of human deprivation and social inequality from the very beginning, but also to be put to use as an entrepreneurial mechanism for development” (Lofchie, 1971, pp. 5). It would be extremely difficult for a newly independent state to carry out both of these without having credible leadership and institutions to do so.

Nearly a year after gaining independence Tanzania introduced amendments to the local government Ordinance by abolishing the African Chiefs Ordinance and repealing their powers completely with Act No 4 of 1962. However it has been argued that many chiefs were appointed as executive officers for district and division levels in the new system (Bienen, 1970, p. 67). The independent government also introduced some democratic institutions so that the new local government system would consist of the following hierarchy: First, the municipal councils and then urban councils and rural councils, all of which had to have both elected councillors and appointed officers (Mukandala, 2000, p.19, see also Mogella, 1999, p.14). The rationale behind

establishing democratic local government was clearly captured by Max and has been reiterated by recent local government reform papers. Max argued that:

Democracy simply means the right of people to run their lives according to their wishes, either directly or through their chosen representatives. In the context of local governments, it means free election of representatives to their councils, something which also ensures their effective participation in Central government matters. On the other hand, freedom to choose their own representative also imposes responsibility upon the people to pay taxes in order to finance the many services and functions performed by the councils for their well-being (Max, 1991, p.25)

This rationale has not changed even today in pursuit of sustainable development. In fact it is now more critical than ever before that people, especially in urban areas, have increased awareness of what their councils are doing, that those institutions need to increase their focus in service provision, local participation and democratic representation. In doing this greater efficiency in delivering services and accountability to the local population and to the Central government will be essential. According to the Local Government Reform Agenda (LGRA), “The local government will be transparent to the local people. This will be the basis for justifying their autonomy from the Central government interference” (United Republic of Tanzania, 1996, p.3). Max argued that if the local affairs were run by the Central government residents would eventually develop apathy. However, he does not mention the fact that even with elected councils, so long as they do not involve their residents in the process of development, decision-making and implementation, the outcome would be the same and apathy would set in. However, one of the important points Max pointed out is that:

In addition, due to limited funds available to the government, it means many development projects as would be desirable cannot be effected. It is here, therefore, that lays the advantage of having local government: when people run their own affairs greater interest is generated, and a stimulus to raise money locally to fund them is automatically created (Max, 1991, p.25).

This function and essential aspect of the local government has been upheld and promoted by the Local Government Reforms Agenda (LGRA) and the Local Government Law (LGL) of 1996 and 2000, respectively.

It has been observed that Tanzania adopted regional development policies in 1962, which increased the number of rapidly expanding regional urban centres (Tordoff, 1967; Bienen, 1970). The first president of independent Tanzania, Julius Nyerere, and TANU had a vision of a balanced industrial and agricultural economy. However, the perception that urban dwellers were exploiting the farmers¹¹ began to change the nature of development objectives. Investment and resources were set apart for the purpose of financing the social transformation of the ujamaa villages that were being established, and thus urban development was no longer a priority.

In 1963, village development committees were formed to present priorities and needs of local rural communities to district development committees for consideration (Mukandala, 2000, p. 19). This was meant to increase participation of local people in the development process and to involve them in all stages. At the same time the government was well aware of the need for technical knowledge in running the local development agenda. Thus, a decree was issued and stated that, "local councils must co-opt technical officers of government departments to their committees, wherever appropriate" (Dryden, 1968, p.142). As a result, every village had an appointed secretary who was to represent the government at the grassroots.

In order to strengthen grassroots political involvement, Mwalimu Julius Nyerere resigned as first Prime Minister of independent Tanganyika in January 1962, leaving the post to Rashidi Kawawa, while retaining his position as TANU's President. After his resignation, Nyerere travelled through the country to revitalise the party and to engage with the people in order to boost political participation and legitimacy for the government under his leadership. At this time

¹¹. "We can put the capitalist and the feudalists on one side, and the farmers and workers on the other. But we can also divide the people into urban dwellers on one side and those who live in the rural areas on the other. If we are not careful we might get to the position where the real exploitation in Tanzania, is that of the town dwellers exploiting the peasants" (Nyerere, 1968, p.243).

Nyerere helped to create 'the TANU cell,' as the party's basic unit, consisting of ten houses grouped together in order to help the people to express their views and receive government directives for the purpose of national development. In his words,

To achieve this purpose it is necessary to have an able elected Government, which has the full support and co-operation of the people. This we have and will have. It is also necessary to have a strong political organization active in every village, which acts like a two-way all-weather road, along which the purposes, plans and problems of the Government can travel to the people, at the same time as ideas, desires, and misunderstandings of the people can travel direct to the Government. This is the job of the new TANU (Nyerere, 1965, pp. 157-158).

The ten house cells have been extended into the urban areas into sub-wards and are still functioning to date. In research on political participation at the grassroots in the late 1990's, Mukandala observed that most people in the grassroots still relied on the ten-house cell system for problem resolution. He argued further that "this explains the current trend whereby a majority of people irrespective of their party affiliation still regard the ten-cell system as their immediate government structure to deal with their concerns" (Mukandala, 2000, p.33). The independent government thus created a local political system for enhancing communication between the people and the authority. It also created structures essential for the local political system. For Ingle, "the employment of the concept of system stresses those actions which relate to the formation and enforcement of policies in any political community" (Ingle, 1972, p.19).

In 1963 the government subdivided the nine colonial provinces into seventeen regions in Tanganyika (Mukandala, 1998, p.11), which have now increased to twenty-one regions. However as Mogella noted, the 1965 constitution, which made Tanzania a one-party-state by law, did not include local government changes or vision (Mogella, 1999; Max 1991). The election results gave the leadership a huge popular support that was seen as a mandate to make Tanzania a "one party nation *de jure*". Thus TANU became the only legally acceptable political

party (Bienen, 1970, p.382-383). However, instead of boosting local government democracy according to the rhetoric of the time, it restricted local government activities, banned opposition parties and stifled opposing views from civil society, or any political ideology different from that of the then ruling party TANU (Kelsall, 2002; Mmuya & Chaligha, 1994; Bienen, 1970).

In 1965, the Act No. 50, which demanded that all councillors had to be members of the party integrated TANU into the local government system. In this way the party was involved in prioritising development policy, be it for rural or urban councils, even before it was officially made the supreme policy maker. In 1967, the regional development fund was established with the aim of making funds available at regional level for village development in response to the people's demands and needs.¹² The Arusha Declaration then sealed the policy choice of rural development over urban progress. At the same time Nyerere, "stressed the importance of securing voluntary, enthusiastic participation from local communities in the development effort" (Ingle, 1972, p.10). By 1967, at the time of the Arusha Declaration, a complex situation emerged in which it was argued that there was an urban bias in Tanzania (Sabot, 1988; Nyerere, 1988), evidenced by the policy of import substitution industrialisation initiated by TANU (Gugler, 1996, p. 228). This has been argued to have taken place in the face of Nyerere and TANU's anti-urbanism that continued well into the 1970s (Lugalla, 1995, p. 28). The so-called 'urban bias' in Tanzania has, however, been shown to be a conflict between a portion of the elite and the peasantry in which urban development effectively allowed the elite to benefit themselves and gain profit from peasant production (Jamal & Weeks, 1993, p.55). The

¹². For Lema, "The question of how to lift the country from the colonial legacy into an empowered state, able to chart out its own destiny, hinged upon two choices: to adopt development processes that focused on the interests of a minority elite, or, to set a development path that addressed the social, economic, and cultural needs of the broad majority of the people. Nyerere chose the second option (Lema, 2006, p. v).

consequence of this complex situation was that the government ignored the deteriorating condition of the urban poor, urban infrastructure and management (Campbell & Pons, 1987, p. vii). Instead of seeking to create development projects to accommodate the unemployed urban poor, the city and town councils embarked on interventionist policies of direct repatriation to the rural areas. Indeed these interventionist measures came in the form of ill-thought development programmes such as “repatriation and villagisation” (Mmuya & Chaligha, 1994). The final major attempt of this policy was in 1983 when about 40 percent of Dar’s residents were estimated to be unemployed (Lugalla, 1995). Lugalla’s concept of employment was incomplete because it did not include the informal operators whose entrepreneurial skills have made a significant difference between survival and development in Tanzania. However, like all similar past operations, it did not succeed.

In 1972, local government was abolished and replaced with ‘Madaraka Mikoani’ meaning that power was going to the regions (Mogella, 1999, p.16). In 1973, the urban authorities were abolished without consultation with the Association of Local Authorities in Tanzania (ALAT). The failure of the ‘Madaraka Mikoani’ to bring the expected regional development was so obvious that it resulted in it being popularly nicknamed ‘Madaraka Mikononi’ in a play on closely related words meaning “power in the hands” instead of in the regions (Max, 1991 p.85). Nyerere’s and TANUs egalitarian policies prompted this decentralisation process, which was meant to speed up even development in all regions and to give local people more powers and responsibility for their progress. This would take place by giving the regions more powers through a process of decentralisation where Central government would have its representatives in each region to be nearer the people and respond more swiftly to the people’s needs. Also Nyerere wanted to reduce control from the centre. “For the really vital element in Decentralisation is that we have to drop our preset apparent urge to control everything from the centre. At the centre we can prod, urge and help, but not control (Nyerere, 1973, p.350). The process did not produce the intended outcome. In fact:

The abrupt end of local government in 1972 through the introduction of decentralization meant the replacement in each region and district of local leaders by people from the central civil service, under the Prime Minister's Office (Mukandala, 1998, p.58).

This does not seem to correspond with Nyerere's idea of giving powers to the local people although he explains that, by giving powers to the regions, it would be easier for local people to present their demands and the government to respond, rather than following the chain of command to the Central government, before giving the desired response to local problems. It is possible that the political tensions that led to 'Mwongozo' influenced the decision to abandon the local government system because it happened in the same year and the left-wing wanted to see their own representatives protecting their interests at the regional level.

Nyerere and the TANU party expressed the need for development policies based on equality. Thus, ignoring urban development in order to lift the rural poor to the standards of life in urban areas seemed to be the right thing for the socialist government to do. Furthermore, in promoting his ideology, Nyerere based socialism on the principles of human equality and social justice. "He believed not only that capitalism need not mature as a precursor to socialism, but also that its developmental engine could be captured and strengthened by state direction and regulation, thus avoiding unjust inequalities and leading to improved living conditions for the masses," (Glickman, 1992, p. 216). Nyerere was well aware that the pursuit of such goals might not necessarily bring the most rapid economic development. He noted that, by using taxation policy based on the principle that the wealthy would pay more in proportion to the poor, some potential investors might be scared to invest in Tanzania (Nyerere, 1968). Nevertheless his government pursued this policy because of a conviction that it would benefit most Tanzanians and was ethically justifiable. It is clear, therefore, that Nyerere's emphasis was not in maximising economic growth but rather on moral principles and their effect on the society.

However, Nyerere did not define how the urban areas would be incorporated into the spirit of socialism, and whether they were expected to be 'ujamaa' towns or not. What emerged clearly, though, is that urban development did not receive the same impetus as its rural

counterpart, and thus, it is not surprising that by the late 1970's the urban infrastructure had deteriorated severely. Nyerere's main concern was with the rural poor, whom he believed worked hard but were indirectly exploited by the urban dwellers. He observed that foreign currency borrowed by the government for the purpose of urban development was repaid through the export of the cash crops produced by the farmers. "It means that the people who benefit directly from borrowed money are not the ones who will repay the loans" (Nyerere, 1968, p. 242). Nyerere argued further that "This fact should always be borne in mind, for there are various forms of exploitation. We must not forget that people who live in towns can possibly become the exploiters of those who live in the rural areas" (Nyerere, 1968, p. 242). Following this line of argument, and given his commitment to pursue egalitarian principles, it became evident that urban development would not be given significant consideration in policy formulation or in allocation of resources.

TANU and the president were determined to make sure that the government prevented urban dwellers from exploiting those living in rural areas. Therefore, choices related to development policy were made in favour of rural development while neglecting urban advancement. The neglect of urban development in Tanzania was therefore not accidental but a direct consequence of the government's policies based on the ideology of socialism and rural development. President Nyerere was fully aware of this as he indicated in 1969 when he said:

The decision to give top priority to rural development does not only affect what is done in the rural areas; it also has implications for every other aspect of the Development Plan. Thus, for example, it means that there is less manpower, which can be devoted to improving conditions in the urban areas (Nyerere, 1973, p.96).

Broadly, therefore, the dominant paradigm for development in Tanzania, by favouring rural areas over urban areas, inevitably held back economic growth in the towns. The emphasis on ujamaa villages did not result in increased productivity and the kind of growth that would produce better living conditions among all Tanzanians. Despite all the problems of the time, including an abolished local government, and a hardly functioning economy, attempts were made for development by the state and party machinery. According to Kelsall,

In addition, the party and state had well-established rules, procedures and political organs that were not, at a national level, routinely flouted. The development of administration, for example actually tried to implement development plans. The state at a local level was less robust, but its influence was more than nugatory (Kelsall, 2002, p. 614).

In 1977, TANU and the Afro Shirazi Party (ASP) of Zanzibar united to form Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM) which produced a new constitution that included the status of local government thus giving this institution the right to be re-introduced. However, it took the government a number of years before amending the Acts that had abolished local government. By 1981, there was little economic growth and austerity measures were introduced to reduce government spending. The local government system was re-established in 1982 with Act No.7 for District Authorities and No.8 for Urban Authorities in Local Government Laws (LGL), (United Republic of Tanzania, 2000, p.13 & 113). The government realised that the years without local government had not brought prosperity to the country. In fact many development projects had been abandoned because of financial problems. The government by then believed that re-introducing local government would reconnect the centre with the local actors again, and would also increase participation and development.

Although the government had introduced its own Structural Adjustment Programme in 1982, the World Bank and the IMF deemed the programme ineffective. These institutions imposed severe conditions, including cost-sharing in education and health care, on the Government before giving any loans to Tanzania. In the wake of the Structural Adjustment Programmes, Dar es Salaam became one of the fastest growing African cities (Amis, 1990). This caught the government unprepared, and despite the perceived democratic growth enhanced by the multi-party system that was brought back in 1995 there have been fast growing groups of marginalised urban poor people who can hardly make ends meet. It has been argued that “the urban population are supported by such a very weak economic base such that any politics that arise are the politics of survival” (Mmuya & Chaligha, 1994, p. 9). For the urban poor, these programmes worsened their situation and increased the number of street children sharply (Lugalla, 1995). Increased poverty in urban areas meant that many more parents could not pay

tuition fees and their children were not even able to attend primary school prior to the reintroduction of universal primary education in 2002. This decline in education and in healthcare is an indicator of growing poverty in the country.

In 1993, the Dar es Salaam City Council resumed harassment of the urban poor engaged in informal economic activities, such as street vendors and hawkers (Lugalla, 1995, p. 145). Similar incidents have been observed in other urban centres such as Iringa and Moshi, though in the last few years it seems that Iringa has adopted a different approach of negotiating with the petty traders rather than confrontation. The government's failure to find a meaningful blend of accommodationist and interventionist policies increased problems in urban areas. This research will attempt to find a way forward, despite the fact that urban studies have not had a significant impact in Tanzania in the past (Campbell & Pons 1987). The long-term neglect of the urban areas is an issue that many local governments such as the municipal councils have to grapple with in their efforts towards sustainable urban development. Local government reforms have ushered in a new era and vision of local administration. It is important thus to analyse the impact of this new understanding of local government in Tanzania.

3. 2 Sustainable Urban Development Policies: The Local Government's Role

Tanzania launched sustainable development as an essential aspect of The National Environment Policy (NEP) in 1997 published by the government at the Vice President's Office, which clearly stated that;

Tanzanians have no choice but to strive to manage the environment and its natural resources in ways that enhance the potential for growth and opportunity for sustainable development of present and future generations (The United Republic of Tanzania, 1997, p.1)

The NEP document included among the main policy objectives the improvement of productivity, living conditions of urban settlements that have been degraded as well as to protect ecosystems, land and all that act as the basis of life support and existence. It also included the task of increasing public awareness of the issue of sustainable development and promotion of

international cooperation to combat environmental problems. However the most important policy objective was;

To ensure sustainability, security and equitable use of resources for meeting the basic needs of the present and future generations without degrading the environment or risking health or safety (The United Republic of Tanzania, 1997, p.9)

In this case, the government has taken on board as its mission for the nation and for urban areas the main tenets of the sustainable development discourse. In fact, according to the Ministry of Lands and Human Settlements Development (MLHSD), the national environmental policy adopted sustainability principles and definitions as the underlying principles which should govern the reality of day-to-day interactions in the country. Thus it put emphasis on two points:

First, sustainable development means achieving a quality of life that can be maintained for many generations because it is socially desirable, economically viable, and environmentally sustainable. Secondly, development is sustainable if it takes place within nature's tolerance limits (MLHSD) 2000, p.19).

This was seen as not only a short term goal for Tanzania, but also a medium and long term policy as well. The NEP is a commitment to promote the wellbeing of the nation and its residents at all times.

Another policy seeking both long term and short term developmental solutions is the National Water Policy. This also stated that "the social and economic circumstances prevailing today have made particular demands upon the country's water resource base and the environment, and its sustainability is threatened by human induced activities" (The United Republic of Tanzania, 2002, p. 4). The aim therefore is to improve provision of safe water to all income groups in Tanzania. For the Ministry of Lands, drinking unhealthy water makes poor people ill and less productive, thus unable to participate in the process of development and that in turn perpetuates their poverty as they overcrowd in unsafe settlements (MLHSD 2000, p.28-29). Thus its own policy is "to promote development of human settlements that are sustainable...To facilitate the provision of adequate and affordable shelter to all income groups in Tanzania" (MLHSD 2000, p.21). This development commitment, though seemingly huge, does not bind the government to be directly involved in housing. All it does is "to make serviced

land available for shelter and human settlements development in general to all sections of the community” (MLHSD 2000, p. 21).

Sustainable development was also made part of another major development policy, the Public Service Reform Policy (PSRP) which is a medium term development policy for 2000-2011. Its vision points out that public service aims at achieving ‘sustained economic growth’ and to eradicate poverty with the collective purpose of mobilising the nation so that every individual will be enabled to maximize their contribution to this end and to protect the environment according to the NEP (The United Republic of Tanzania, in <http://www.tanzania.go.tz/psrp/PSRP.html> PSRP, 2000-2011). It could be argued therefore that PSRP consists of more than simply the reform of the way public servants operate. It is also a policy for promoting economic growth, for eradication of poverty and for promoting environmental protection, all three of which are essential for sustainable development in developing nations. It is significant that sustainable development was included in PSRP policy because without improving the way services are delivered and without giving the people who implement policies the necessary skills for that purpose, the general objectives of sustainable development would be unachievable. The policy was designed to be implemented in three phases. The first 2000-2004 with the objective of improving public services by initiating performance management teams while the second phase which runs from 2005-2008 was meant to initiate and maintain a culture of good performance management:

To sustain improved public service performance, national economic growth and prosperity, a third phase of PSRP will be launched in 2009, with focus on introducing total quality improvement cycles. By the end of this phase client orientation and accountability for results will become the norm (Tanzania Government, in <http://www.tanzania.go.tz/psrp/PSRP.html> PSRP, 2000-2011).

If the policy ambitions were to be fulfilled on time, surely the concept of sustainable development would take on a concrete meaning in Tanzania. If the urban councils had the skills and institutional framework of this kind, and the monitoring of these policies was conducted with efficiency, the development discourse would reach a new level where interactions between institutions and individual communities would bring the desirable change in the whole society.

Commenting on growing urban poverty, the Ministry of Lands document stated that “urban social services began to deteriorate rapidly during the decentralisation period when local authorities were abolished in 1972 and the country’s economy began deteriorating” (MLHSD 2000, p.7). This was accompanied by an ever increasing number of the urban poor in Tanzania.

Evidence of growing poverty is manifested in the failure in meeting the basic need in housing, health and education, poor nutritional standards, fall in life expectancy, growth of illegal informal sector activities and decline in the level of social services (MLHSD 2000, p. 6).

That is unsustainable and is one of the reasons the government introduced poverty reduction measures. The Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP) was therefore another major and long term policy document which took on board the concept of sustainable development in terms of reducing poverty and improving livelihoods by “sustaining macroeconomic stability” (The United Republic of Tanzania, 2000, p, 15). The PRSP was an essential component for Tanzania to qualify for the Highly Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) debt relief and had the support of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the International Development Association (IDA) as well as the World Bank. It was largely a product of the consultation and work done by the government’s own National Poverty Eradication Strategy (NPES). This strategy adopted sustainability stating that “the challenge ahead is to eradicate poverty so as to build a Tanzania which provides conducive living to current as well as future generations” (The United Republic of Tanzania, 1998, p. viii). PRSP introduced specific measures to combat poverty in Tanzania. For example it abolished the “primary school fees in order to ensure that children, especially from poor families have access to primary school education” (The United Republic of Tanzania, 2000, p. 26). This was introduced in the budget of 2001/2002. Other positive intervention policy measures include promoting self-help schemes to build classrooms, dispensaries etc. Also some specific funds were to be allocated in the same year for catalysing pro-poor interventions as well as to create many more jobs for them. PRSP linked its objectives with those of Vision 2025 and the Local Government Reform Strategy (LGRS). Its success in delivering sustainable development and thus alleviating poverty depends on the implementation process which for

urban areas is the job of town and municipal councils. In the 2004 IMF and IDA progress report about the PRSP, it was argued that the government had made substantial progress. The progress report also recommended that the government needed “deeper understanding and use of economic instruments and incentives for the private sector to adopt voluntary mechanisms for environmentally sustainable development” (IMF & IDA, 2004, p. 5). On urban development issues, it was argued that the influx of rural youth and “difficult to get gainful employment has compounded the level of urban poverty” (MLHSD 2000, p. 29). The Ministry of Lands document further argued about the benefits of eradicating poverty in Tanzania. It stated that:

Alleviation of poverty increases the chances of population to enjoy good health, become productive and hence earn higher incomes than before. High incomes will in turn make the population afford more and better social services and utilities, and a better diet (MLHSD 2000, p.28-29).

Among the solutions put forth by the policy for urban councils to implement includes “earmarking of special areas within neighbourhoods for informal sector activities” (MLHSD 2000, p. 29). This has actually been implemented though the techniques vary from one urban area to another, and though the policy is good, it could be controversial in the implementation process as this study will explain in case studies of Kinondoni, Moshi and Iringa.

Tanzania’s policy conceived by the PRSP and by the government as its long term development objective was the Vision 2025. It could of course be argued that 25 years planning is not so much long-term as medium-term. However, for a government whose previous practice was only 5 years planning, it must seem very long term indeed. This vision clearly put sustainable development at its centre. The vision has been described as a hope for the nation’s future (Kelsall, 2002), but is more than that, it is a government commitment to examine itself, to find shortcomings and to set real achievable targets towards sustainable development “which cannot happen by themselves and must be deliberately grown and nurtured” (The United Republic of Tanzania, 2000, p. 16). It saw that there was no accountability, no self motivation but political apathy, which must be overcome to build a sustainable development. It stated that, “by 2025, good governance should have permeated the national social-economic structure

thereby ensuring a culture of accountability, rewarding good performance and effectively curbing corruption and other vices in society” (The United Republic of Tanzania, 2000, p.6). In making the case for sustainable development the vision pointed out that:

Ideally, a nation’s development should be people-centred, based on sustainable and shared growth and be free from abject poverty. For Tanzania, this development means that the creation of wealth and its distribution in society must be equitable and free from inequalities and all forms of social and political relations which inhibit empowerment and effective democratic and popular participation of social groups in society (The United Republic of Tanzania, 2000, p.5)

As mentioned above, Vision 2025 is a commitment to undertake major reforms including changing the cultural mindset, instilling confidence and enabling innovation and developmental management skills to the nation. The main objective is to improve the quality of life for Tanzanians, by transforming the economy using technological innovation. It also made a choice to reinstate free universal primary education, and that has already been implemented. Other objectives included good governance that encourage participation and a balanced approach where the government involves other actors in the development process. It also included the strengthening of the economy, by letting the markets unleash their power while the government creates the right environment for this to take place. Emphasis was given to the important element of monitoring the process of development, which has always been weak in the planning and especially implementation of development policy in the country.

For urban councils, the vision requires them to empower the poor by eradicating poverty, to be democratic by improving representation, and to be accountable by improving popular participation in all stages of development. It requires the government at all levels to create wealth and to distribute it fairly. In other words resource allocation is an essential part of this process and to reach the vision’s objectives they need to be met. All these policies have the empowerment of the poor as a priority thus eradication of poverty is a significant element in vision 2025, PSRP, NEP as well as the National Community Development Policy (NCDP) of 1996. The NCDP document stated that its aims included enabling the people to form

communities that are self reliant, able to budget and use entrepreneurial skills and available resources to improve their income and living conditions. The main aim is:

To enable Tanzanians to bring about their own development by working to improve production so that they may have increased income which will enable communities to build a better life through self-reliance and the use of locally available resources. This is the only way that poverty can be eradicated in the country (United Republic of Tanzania, 1996, p. 8).

NCDP further stated that its objectives were to achieve development through “sustainable cooperation between all authorities/institutions concerned with community development” (The United Republic of Tanzania, 1996, p.9). All relevant institutions and the community should be involved in the preparation for policy, decision making and implementation, and should educate communities in how to use the available resources for sustainable development and to make sure children are given a sound foundation for future participation in community development. This job is given to the Central government and in a specific way to the local government, city, municipality , town etc. “Local governments must develop their capacity to conceive, plan, implement and supervise development activities in general” (The United Republic of Tanzania, 1996, p. 31). On the sustainability of healthcare, the NCDP document acknowledged the existing weakness arguing that:

Although health services have increased, the use of those services has diminished due to economic problems which have resulted in a shortage of medicine and essential equipment as well as low salaries which have led to a loss of commitment among medical staff quite apart from the shortage of medicine (The United Republic of Tanzania, 1996, p. 20).

What the document is missing is the fact that the outcome of those problems is not just loss of morale by the staff, but also the fact that poor residents cannot afford even the diminished medicine available, a situation which is unsustainable. However in 2001, the government has sought to correct the problem that would be faced by the poor by introducing the “Community Health Fund Act” which stated that:

(1) The powers to issue exemptions to pay Community Health Fund annual contribution to any person shall be vested into the Ward Health Committee after receiving recommendations from the Village Council and the Council shall authorize that person to obtain a Community Health Fund card. (2) The exempting authority shall seek alternative means of compensating the Fund (The United Republic of Tanzania, 2001, p. 6).

The problem with this act lies with the second clause and the idea that councils will have to find money for the people they exempt from healthcare payments implies that it will be harder for anyone to actually be exempted. Furthermore, the standards set by each village council will vary from place to place, thus exacerbating the problem for those who need the services most. On the issue of Education the document indicates the reduction of enrolment in schools in the 1980s and aimed at using various teams of experts to improve the community development and education message to the nation.

It must be understood that the Local Government Reform Programme (LGRP), though not stating explicitly its commitment to sustainable development, is implicit in its holistic approach to local governance, demanding that each local authority should reflect the social-economic conditions in their area, that they should be accountable, ethical, and facilitate participation by the local communities in the development process. It goes further to argue that:

Local governments have the responsibility for social development and public service provision within their jurisdiction, facilitation and maintenance of law and order and issues of national importance such as education, health, water, roads and agriculture. Local government authorities are constituting a unitary government system all over the country based on elected councils and committees and professional administrations (United Republic of Tanzania, 1998, p. 4).

Therefore in the new arrangement, the municipalities have the task of improving social development and linking this with the actual living conditions of their residents whom the councils are expected to democratically represent and improve delivery of services in a way that meets local needs. This is consistent with the demands of sustainable development. The LGRP document attempted to explain how it is supposed to work in practice and stated that:

In short, the overall objective of the reform is to improve service delivery by making local authorities more democratic and autonomous within the framework established by Central government and under the conditions of severe resource constraints. For this to succeed, it requires in-depth changes in central-local government relations, in relations between local councils and their citizens, and in the way that councils and their staff operate (United Republic of Tanzania, 1998, p. 5).

This form of discourse, about inter and intra institutional relations, will be an essential part of the analysis of the three municipalities involved in this study. Another important area covered by the LGRP is that of revenue, without which services would not improve and even the

reforms would stall. It demanded the formation of objective criteria to make sure that local government authorities have sufficient sources and that the revenue is fairly allocated with efficiency and accountability. Among the objectives stated were the introduction of less costly systems for urban councils to collect property tax and “securing a fair and equitable treatment of all tax payers” (United Republic of Tanzania, 1998, p. 23). However the first objective was:

Increasing the cost effectiveness of council tax collection by reducing the number of minor local government taxes which generally cost more to collect than they yield, simplifying the local government tax structure, and streamlining the administration of collection (United Republic of Tanzania, 1998, p. 4).

This too will be examined in the case studies because of its importance in the actual running of the municipality and the problems that urban residents have with the authorities in paying tax. According to Fjeldstad, “widespread tax evasion reflected in persistent public resistance to pay is seen as an important part of the problem of raising local government revenue in Tanzania” (Fjeldstad, 2006, p. 1). For him though, the main problem is not on the policy itself but in the fact that “taxpayer’s views have to a large extent been ignored in this policy debate” (Fjeldstad, 2006, p. 1). He identified, among others important reasons why people agree to pay tax, their perception of the local government as trustworthy, and the quality of services it provides to the residents, as well as the individual’s economic situation. In a Tanzania survey, Fjeldstad, wrote:

Data shows that citizens feel they get little in return for the taxes paid. This perception has impacted on their willingness to pay and contributes to eroding people’s trust in the local government’s capacity to provide the expected services. The problem of non-payment therefore should be attacked on several fronts, including service delivery, better administration and information schemes, and community involvement (Fjeldstad, 2006, p. 24).

Therefore, while the LGRP has the right policies and urges the participation of the people in the planning and implementation, it has not given priority to learning about the views of the people and their particular predicament. This has a bearing on the implementation of the policy and how successful its outcome might be.

Sustainable development has been enshrined in the Local Government Law (LGL). The Local Government Urban Authorities Act made it one of the urban councils’ responsibilities:

It will be the responsibility of each urban authority to promote the social welfare and economic well-being of all persons within its area of jurisdiction...to take necessary measures to protect and enhance the environment in order to promote sustainable development (The United Republic of Tanzania, 2000, p.155).

The law has given the responsibility to urban councils to foster all the main components of sustainable development. That is, first, social welfare of the urban residents, second, their economic development and third, the environmental aspect of sustainable development. Having undertaken this balanced approach the only major work now remaining is the implementation.

3. 3. Urban Policy and Local Government Reform

As outlined above, all recent major policies incorporated the values of sustainable development, or stated clearly how this was to be the main long term goal for Tanzania's development as stipulated in Vision 2025. The process was to be accompanied by major local government reforms to create the necessary conditions for sustainability. Therefore, in 1996 soon after the first multiparty elections, the government launched further local government reforms. The reforms "overall aim is to enhance the democratic participation and administrative efficiency of local authorities in Tanzania" (Mogella, 1999, p. 31). Local government has become the focal point of economic development and political participation at the grassroots level. According to the Local Government Law (LGL), one of the local government's purposes is to support the development of democracy at the grass roots. This was the same argument given by the reform programme LGRP which stated that "the local government reform supports the democratic development of society from the grassroots level. The highest political authority in a local authority is the council" (The United Republic of Tanzania, 1998, p. 15) and this has the powers to formulate bylaws, pass development plans etc. Furthermore, sustainable urban development in Tanzania is now being understood as the domain of local government authority. As such the local government is endowed with an important responsibility not only to formulate appropriate development policies, but also to preside over the institutions that are meant to work together to sustain their fragile local economy and social progress while maintaining a healthy environment.

According to Local Government Law, the local government is the political and administrative domain in which urban development is taking place. Therefore, urban local authorities have been endowed with the responsibility of representing in the political arena the rapidly increasing number of urban dwellers as well as delivering social services to the urban poor who cannot afford to pay for such services in the private sector. Furthermore, each authority is expected to take the following responsibilities;

Urban authorities are expected to further the social and economic development of their areas; take the necessary measures for the suppression of crimes and protection of public and private property; regulate and improve agriculture, trade, commerce and industry; further and enhance health, education, and the social cultural and recreational life of the people; and to eradicate poverty and distress (Mniwasa and Shauri, 2001, p.14).

Therefore, urban authorities not only have the role of representing local people, but also that of managing various local initiatives, and providing services in a manner that is encouraging local actors to make their contribution to the process of development and in sustaining any progress that is made. It could therefore be argued that the effective functioning and ability of the local government authorities to deliver development objectives in response to local demands can best be evaluated in relation to how they are organised, as well as on the basis of their ability to mobilise resources, empower the local actors and win their support in the implementation of the development policies.

In a symposium organised in South Africa by the United Nations Capital Development Fund (UNCDF), Tapscott and others rightly observed that, “while Central governments across Africa are downsizing and decentralizing, policy makers are paying insufficient attention to whether appropriate powers and responsibilities are being transferred to local actors and whether the necessary local institutional infrastructure is in place” (Tapscott et al, 2001, p.14). It has been argued further that, while the Central government is giving powers to the local authorities, not all functions are decentralised. Kane and others “agreed that functions should not be decentralized unless there is agreement between the centre and the local institutions to which they are being decentralized...The needs of the poorest sectors of the population should be the starting point for deciding what to decentralize and how” (Kane et al, 2001, p. 22). This

study will explore the evidence regarding Tanzania's local government reforms and consider whether these have been based on the needs of the urban poor or if the poor are still struggling to make ends meet, with little or no assistance from the government.

Political representation is an essential element in making local political systems work efficiently (Ingle, 1972). It is an important aspect of good governance that has been shown in most cases to determine the extent to which development might be achieved and sustained. The success of the sustainable urban development efforts will therefore depend in many ways on how local authorities work with other stakeholders in representing local needs and being open and accountable to them. This demands an effective consultation between the central and local government as well as with other stakeholders and especially with the electorate. Here I concur with Diouf and others who argued that, "the importance of real effective consultation between the centre and local governments, between the local governments and non-governmental actors, and between local governments and communities was stressed" (Diouf et al. 2001, p.12) by the members of the working group. The consultation will enable local authorities to represent local actors, championing their aspirations and working on the local development issues. The Central government should give its full support to local initiatives while monitoring, rather than controlling, the local authorities' performance as the LGRP suggested. In this way the Central government will enhance the process of sustainable development by giving ownership of various initiatives to local people, thus increasing the political system's legitimacy while giving the urban dwellers an incentive to work harder. As a result of the local government reforms, a municipal council has:

(a) One member elected from each of the wards within the municipality ; (b) the Member of Parliament representing the constituency within which the municipality is situated; (c) such number of women members who are qualified to be elected to the council, being not less than one third of all the members referred to in paragraphs (a) and (b) to be proposed by the political parties represented in the council in number as shall be proportional to the number of members of those parties elected to the council and who the electoral authority shall declare to have been elected into the council (The United Republic of Tanzania, 2000, p.139).

The Municipal Director is the secretary of the council but has no vote in council meetings. The appointed officers are advisers only and are not voting in the meetings.

The urban authorities in Tanzania, which were re-established by a (CCM) Government, have since remained under its dominance (Mniwasa & Shauri, 2001, p.7). Even the introduction of the multiparty system and competitive party politics has not managed to reduce CCM's monopoly to any significant extent. In his analysis of CCM's dominance in policy formulation and politics in general, Chaligha observed that,

All decisions were first mooted in the National Executive Committee of CCM before they were referred to the National Parliament for legitimisation purposes. This monopoly of power by a single party created problems of accountability and inefficiency in the management of economic and political affairs" (Chaligha, 1998, p.16).

It is important then to find answers to explain why people keep voting for a party they think is authoritarian and has problems of corruption and lack of accountability while they lament about these problems. In the case of the urban poor, in particular, it would appear that they do not have much to lose, from sticking to the opposition party, which they hope might revolutionise their lives. The problems of the urban poor are complex and thus, for many professionals and officials, it is hard to see reality from their perspective. Poor people probably see solutions very differently from the government officials and other observers. According to Colin Leys talking about the Acholi in Uganda soon after independence, their expectation from the government is not transformation but improvement. They know, given their level of education and other experiences put together, it is only realistic to expect improvement by staying close to those in power and have the possibility of aiding that improvement. Leys argued that,

Outside observers, and some party leaders, are inclined to see all policy issues in the context of an overall transformation of society which they hope to see accomplished. In this picture, all fields of public policy will play a part, education will spread, welfare services will expand, consumption will rise, but so will investment, productivity will go up, and so on; growth in each sector of life will stimulate and be balanced by growth in all the others. But to the Acholi however, it may appear differently (Leys, 1967, p.51).

It was not unusual therefore for the Acholi to switch allegiance from the political party, the Democratic Party (DP) that represented them to the one that actually won the elections, Uganda People's Congress (UPC) in order to continue to gain favours. "In some districts the DP leaders

gave in, disliking their own exclusion from the fruits of being on the government side, and hoping to restore the flow of goods and services to their own areas (Leys 1967, p. 102). Where the leaders continued with their opposition, they soon lost popular support, as everyone wanted to be on the winning side.

Furthermore, lack of capacity for many in civil society makes it difficult for them to make any significant contribution to the policy-making process. Writing about the Tanzania Gender Networking Programme (TGNP), Mary Rusimbi argued that,

One of the main obstacles faced by the organisation is the low capacity and interest within civil society in gender, policy and macro-economic issues. In particular, the women and gender organisations still do not accept that macro-economic issues are gender issues. As a result, it is difficult to organise many organisations to take advantage of strategic opportunities for advocacy in a short period of time (Rusimbi, 2003, p. 141).

For urban development to be sustained, good municipal and urban council governance is essential. However, this demands the existence of a truly democratic state, which is willing to respond to the needs of its people. According to Ngware, “the best way to ensure good municipal governance is the presence of a vibrant civil society and a state that is truly democratic and is responsive to and accountable to its citizens” (Ngware, 2000, p.13). Democratisation is a long process and so is the process of devolving power from the centre to the local government. Oyugi rightly argued that, “in all countries, decentralisation is a long process. If we rush, local governance will proceed badly, or with too much predominance of the centre’s aspirations and agenda on the local government” (Oyugi et al. p. 30). The growth and importance of urban areas depends on many factors, in Tanzania, as in other countries.¹³

13. According to Mascarenhas, the outstanding factors include the political decisions, productivity, transportation and the social cohesion (Mascarenhas, 1971).

The government has made an attempt to improve the development situation in Tanzania, at least in terms of administration, and has introduced local government reforms aimed at giving more power and capacity to the local authorities. And yet, the reforms have been one of the sources of tension between local and Central government. The on-going LGRP seem to have noble objectives of giving the local government more powers and independence from the Central government making them more responsive to the local people's needs. The government expectation from the reforms is that the local authorities will be more efficient and effective. The LGRP also stated that the "political decentralisation is a devolution of powers and the setting of rules for councils and committees" (The United Republic of Tanzania, 1998, p. 4). "Devolution is the process where the Central government consciously creates or strengthens the structures of the sub-national units of government, thereby lessening the direct control of the Central government" (Mniwasa & Shauri, 2001, p.3). The government's assumption is that, once this happens, the local government will have the necessary autonomy and decision-making ability independent from the Central government, and consequently, it will be more efficient and effective. This assumption has two main problems. First, devolution demands capacity building both in the local level and in the Central government level so that those who have been given new responsibilities will have the necessary skills for performing their duties. At the same time those who are supposed to change and relinquish power should have the knowledge and skills that will enable a smooth transfer of responsibilities. The LGRP would thus only be successful if closely linked with all the other policy areas stated above.

Second, devolution demands that more resources are allocated during the process and after the reform process is completed before the new institutions evolve into self governing and self sustaining bodies capable of raising sufficient funds to meet their local development demands. Central government officials are claiming to be doing just that. However, they blame the local government for lack of preparation for their new responsibilities while the local government blames the Central government for lack of adequate support. Nevertheless it is a matter of fact

that most of the urban authorities in Tanzania, including the three Municipalities of Dar es Salaam, are still depending largely on the Central government for most policy decisions because the amount of funds they raise is much less than what they need to carry out their development objectives. Even at the end of the reform process urban authorities “will still be subordinate to higher level organs regarding development planning, financial issues and by-laws” (Mogella, 1999, p.46). As such, the model of local government reform in Tanzania seems to be less than a true devolution because of the central control normally associated with de-concentration. “De-concentration is the shifting of the management workload from centrally located officials to offices outside the national capital. In this case, final authority is retained in the centre” (Mniwasa & Shauri, 2001, p.3).

It should be clearly stated that the devolution of powers and service provision to the urban councils is a necessary, but not sufficient, condition for improved service quality and sustainability of urban development. That needs development partnerships, evolved capacity in all levels of administration and leadership and more flexibility in dealing with various urban social problems so as to give each area its appropriate response. Building capacity enables governments not only to cope with prevailing social problems, such as urban poverty, but also give them the possibility of responding to new challenges of sustainable urban development.

To understand the developmental interactions and policies for a sustainable urban development in Tanzania, the study of Kinondoni, Moshi and Iringa, conducted through interviews will be presented in chapters four, five and six respectively with a critical comparative analysis in chapter seven.

Conclusions

This chapter has shown that soon after independence Tanzania reformed the local government to make it a democratic, representative local political system aimed at fostering development and improving the quality of life. However, during the period following the Arusha declaration, Tanzania chose socialism and self-reliance as a development policy for

wealth redistribution with the goal of creating an equitable society. This was a policy that focused on the rural poor and left the urban poor largely out of the development agenda. The one party system made things worse for the urban poor by stifling the opposition and new urban development ideas which were considered a threat to rural development. The local government system changed in the 1970s when the Central government took more control and local government authorities were abolished. The abolition of the local authorities was quickly followed by urban decay and deterioration of service provision, thus confirming the vital role they had played in the advancement of urban communities. There was also a general deterioration of the economy in Tanzania. This trend did not change when the one-party political system was replaced by a weak multiparty system where the opposition parties have as yet scarcely challenged the authority of the ruling party. Urban neglect continued until in the late 1990s when the Local Government Reforms were introduced with the aim of giving more powers to the local councils and communities. However, in practice, there has been a de-concentration of power from central to local government rather than true devolution. This has increased tension between the central and local government and has made it difficult for the local urban authorities to fulfil their duties while being over-dependent on Central government. Generally, an array of policies all adopting sustainable development, the improvement of the quality of life and the eradication of poverty as primary goals, were introduced and have started to improve the situation slowly. Among them, environmental policies, taxation reform and poverty reduction strategies have all been introduced as part of local government reforms policy. The policies have ranged from short term to long term development goals, and together with changing ideology, are shaping the nature of the local government which is the domain of sustainable urban development in Tanzania.

My thesis is addressing these issues at the grassroots level through the use of three case studies, while focusing on a number of policies. A choice was thus made to concentrate on transportation, taxation, poverty alleviation through community development, education,

healthcare, housing, water and the local government reforms policies, because of the central role these play in overcoming obstacles for sustainable urban development. Other issues of local importance such as day residents in Moshi will also be included in the analysis in order to understand the best ways to transform Tanzania's urban progress in the efforts towards sustainable development.

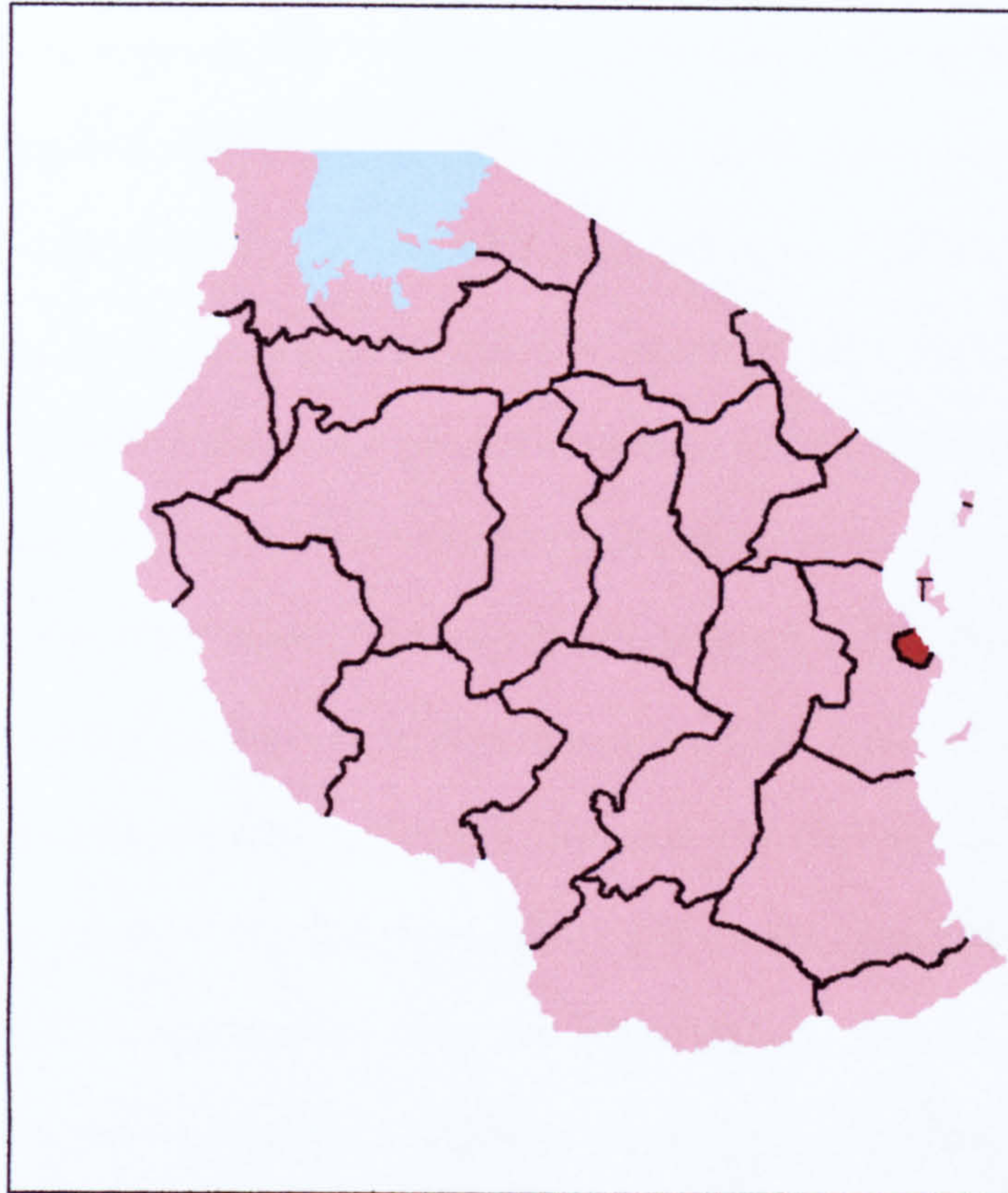
PART II

Chapter 4. Sustainable Urban Development in Dar (Kinondoni)

3.1 Historical Background and Social-Economic Profile

The importance of Kinondoni is closely linked to that of the city of Dar as a whole and, as such, its history can best be clearly grasped within the context of the city. However, it is a unique municipality and its specific traits need also to be examined independently if its local development process is to be understood. Kinondoni was given the status of a Municipality by the Government Notice No. 14 of the year 2000. It is one of the three municipalities that form the City of Dar and which are the administrative centres for the districts within which the municipalities operate (Sustainable Kinondoni Programme, (SKP) 2001, p.1).

Figure 4.1: Dar es Salaam in the Map of Tanzania



Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Image:Tanzania_DaresSalaam.png, 11 Feb. 2007.

Dar es Salaam (Dar) was established in 1862 as a trading centre and port by Zanzibar's Sultan Seyyid Majid (Baruti et al. 1992, p. 1; De Blij, 1963, p. 4; Fuko & Lubuva, 1999, p. 3; Kironde, 1996, p. 19; Leslie, 1963, p.19). Since then it has been the most significant urban centre in Tanganyika/Tanzania. The centre grew to form a large town, as many people moved from the hinterland in search of work and trade. However, the turning point in Dar's growth was precipitated by the political choices made by Germany in 1891, when the colonial government decided to move its headquarters from Bagamoyo to Dar (Baruti et al, 1992, p. 1; Leslie, 1963, p.1). The Germans made the town their administrative centre for the East African Colonies. They developed Dar into an important harbour and the centre from which all the railway lines and major roads in the country began. According to Fuko and Lubuva, some of the buildings constructed by the Germans are still being used by the current administration.

The British, to whom the colony was mandated as a Protectorate following the First World War, largely adopted the building plans introduced by the Germans. The British established a Town Planning Department in 1947; two years after Tanganyika became a trustee of the United Nations under British Administration (De Blij, 1963, p.6). Indeed, after the Second World War, the town grew very rapidly. According to De Blij, Dar was developing into a small industrial complex at this time and its population increased unabated. A year later, in 1948, the first Master Plan for Dar was produced. By 1949 Dar had officially become a municipality . In the 1950's the British colonial administration invested in new buildings and, as De Blij put it, "Dar es Salaam began to display the imprints of British guardianship" (De Blij, 1963, p.6). Dar remained with the status of a municipality until independence in 1961 when it was elevated to be the first City in the country (Fuko & Lubuva, 1999, p.3), by the Queen of England's royal charter (Max, 1991, p. 30). According to Max, the charter did not change the way Dar was governed as the law and practice remained the same as when it was a municipality .

In the 1960s, a new master plan was made that was very similar in principal to that of 1948. However, it was scarcely implemented. This was revised again in the 1970's as part of the government's attempt to meet the needs of the rapidly growing population and manage the social economic changes. Unfortunately this project did not work and the city management was overwhelmed with problems of overcrowding, and service shortages which are continuing to this day. In 1973, the government abolished urban authorities across Tanzania, and Dar was put under the administration of the regional directorate (Max, 1991, p.90). In 1978, an interim act re-established urban authorities and Dar needed many engineers to redesign the decadent infrastructure. The problems, including financial, infrastructural, and lack of well trained civil councillors continued even after the new authority became fully operational in 1984 (Max, 1991, p. 92). In 1996, the government formed the Dar City Commission when it disbanded the inefficient City Council (Fuko & Lubuva, 1999, p.4).

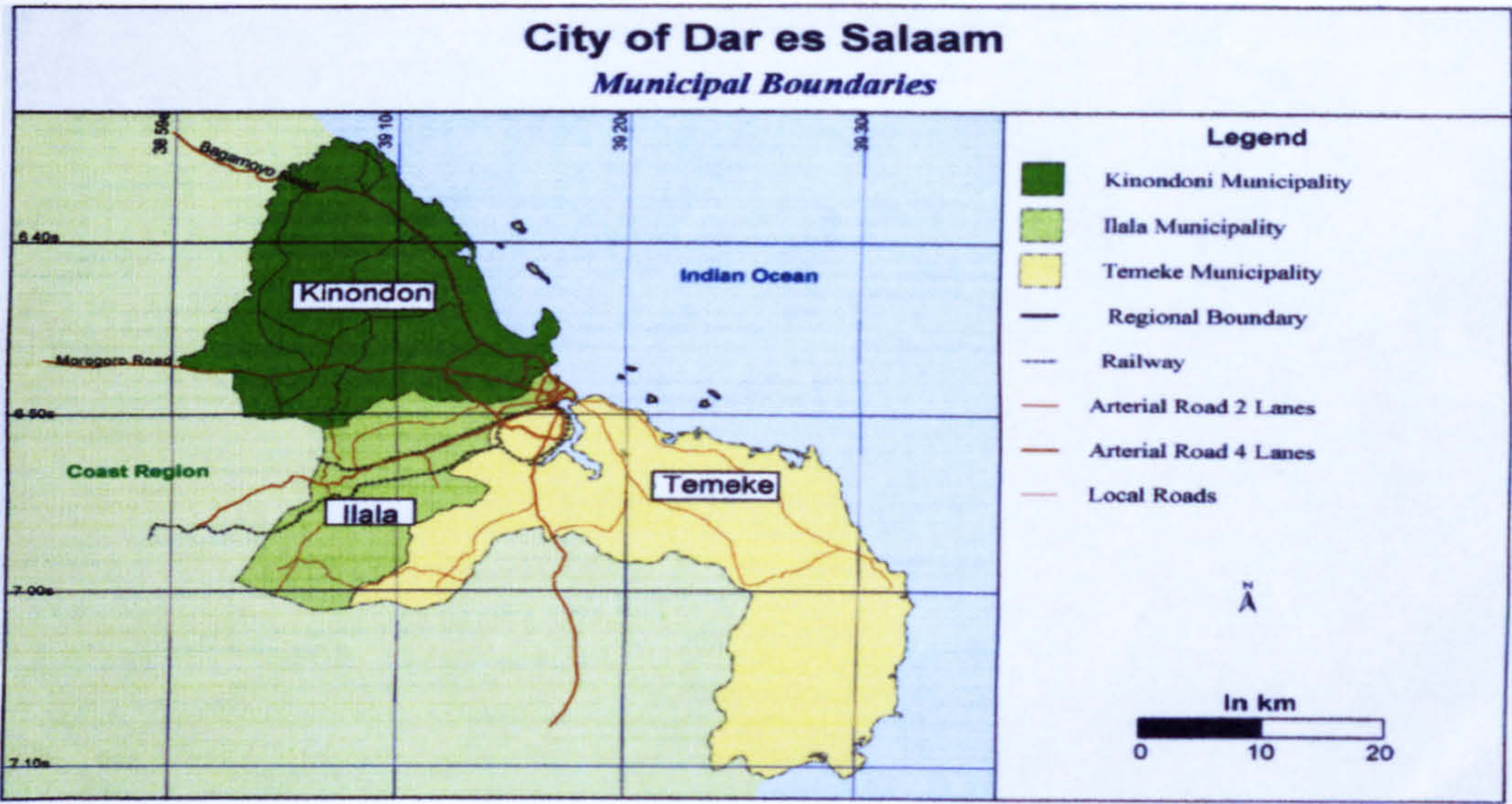
Dar es Salaam is now divided into the three municipal councils of Kinondoni, Ilala and Temeke. This division took place at the beginning of 2000, when these three municipalities replaced the City Commission that was running the city. This structural change presented both problems and opportunities for the research. For example, all of the documentation prior to 2000 looked at Dar as a single unit, while after 2000 the administration and documentation was divided for the three separate areas. The municipality of Kinondoni, with a dense and varied population, was selected as the area for this specific research, and this is where all of the interviews were carried out. However, because of the fact that prior to 2000 documentation and policy development treated the city as a single unit, the overall situation of Dar is, in part, also presented. One advantage of the structural change was that it offered the possibility of a smaller research area that was more easily compared with the municipalities of Moshi and Iringa.

The city of Dar is the main port, economic and commercial centre in Tanzania, all of which are linked to its history and location on the coast. Attempts to move the administrative capital to Dodoma have not been successful. “To date, only four ministries have managed to shift to Dodoma, while some of their departments still operate from Dar es Salaam” (Mwambande, 5th March 2004).

Up to 2000, only the Prime Minister’s Office had partially moved to Dodoma, as Ndunguru, stated that, “all other ministries and Diplomatic Corps are still based in Dar es Salaam and thus the city is still the government administration centre” (Ndunguru, 2000, p2). The government’s development strategy still hinges on the functioning of its ministries in the city, in collaboration with NGOs and international organisations, most of which do not wish to move their headquarters, for various economic reasons. The presence of the government in Dar as well as the NGOs acts as a magnet for migrants searching for formal employment and opportunities to provide services to these employees through the informal economy. These factors provide an indication of the social-economic and development conditions for its residents within the municipalities.

Figure 4.2, below, indicates the municipal boundaries in Dar.

Figure 4.2: Municipal Boundaries of the City of Dar es Salaam



Source: Map obtained from Sustainable Dar es Salaam Project in 2002.

Kinondoni is the largest municipality in the largest urban centre in Tanzania. Since Kinondoni’s social-economic reality has always been part of the city’s development and political milieu, it has all the advantages associated with the city of Dar, which, as has been explained, is still the administrative, industrial, commercial, educational, and transportation capital of the whole country (Baruti et al, 1992, p.1). As such it occupies one of the highest positions in the hierarchy of urban areas in Tanzania. Kinondoni is a large municipality with an area of about 531 sq kilometres and great potential for tourism as it is located along the Indian Ocean coastline. According to the Sustainable Kinondoni Programme (SKP):

Apart from the Indian Ocean to the east (where there is a lot of potential for tourism and sea products are found), the Municipality also borders Bagamoyo District (Coast Region) to the East and North East; to the North with Mpiji River; Ilala Municipality to the South; Kibaha and Kisarawe districts to the west and south west locations respectively (Sustainable Kinondoni Programme, 2001, p.1).

Kinondoni’s main economic activities are “industry, retail business and services, tourism, agriculture which includes animal husbandry, fisheries and bee-keeping” (KMC, 2001, p. 5). Apart from long periods of dry and humid climate, Dar experiences short rains that are not sufficient for agricultural prosperity, unlike Kampala in Uganda which thrives on urban

agriculture. However, the Kinondoni municipality argues that it has at least 52,000 hectares of arable land which has been used for urban agriculture. About 3% of the population is engaged in subsistence farming. It has over 1,700 fishermen with about 370 canoes and boats and a number of villages depend on fishing as the main source of income (KMC, 2001, p.5). In the 2002 Census Kinondoni had a population of 1,088,867. According to official documents, “about 360,000 residents of the municipality are employed both in public and private sectors. Out of these, 95% are employed in the private sector” (KMC, 2001, p.5). That is a departure from the social reality of the 1970s when a larger proportion of the population were employed by the government and its institutions.

It is from the above list of economic activities that residents earn their living and the local authorities expect to generate revenue through taxation. Kinondoni, along with the other two Dar municipalities, has the largest number of entrepreneurs in the country, which is one of the advantages of being a municipal council in the commercial capital. Recently many women who were educated abroad seem to have joined the groups of entrepreneurs as it was reported by the BBC that “Tanzania’s women have fuelled a brain gain” (BBC News, 10th November, 2004). Among the many reasons these new entrepreneurs gave were patriotism and family social networks. “But some also cite a better quality of life as a reason. Many of Tanzania’s newly rich enjoy beach-side villas, four-wheel-drive cars and plenty of servants” (BBC News, 10th November, 2004). The entrepreneurs belong to the emerging group of wealthy residents, and the servants belong to the low-income groups of urban poor, a socio economic group that includes the petty traders and fruit vendors of Kinondoni. Religious leaders agree that the newly developing group of wealthy business men and women have not been sympathetic to the plight of the urban poor, or if they have, then they have not shown it. They are interested in maximizing their profits. Tanzania’s director of investment is reported to have said that the women entrepreneurs have boosted the economy and are expected to pass their skills onto other people. However, most of them have invested in Dar, thus giving Kinondoni and the rest of the

city some advantage in its struggle for sustainable development despite the challenges of rapid population growth. However, the emergence of wealthy business groups and the relationship between them and the government has revealed a new trend in social-economic status that is not helping to reduce the growing gap between the urban poor and the rest of the urban population

According to Messkoub, “a major shift in group alliances has been in the making and it is these new alliances that will determine the course of development in the decades to come” (Messkoub, 1996, p. 21). The new alliances include the cooperation between the political leaders and the business groups in the production and distribution of goods. According to Bujra, “social relations and identities need to be more fully and critically related than it was in the past” (Bujra et al, 2004, p.565). For example in 2003, the government banned the import and distribution of second-hand underwear to Tanzania. This was widely supported by those in government and by business groups but the petty traders and urban poor were ardently opposed. Quoting one of the traders, the BBC World service then reported that, “it is not right to ban these garments because ... Used underwear is all that the poor people can afford, said the trader” (BBC News, 23rd October 2003). Arguments for the ban hinged on the possibility of infecting people with skin diseases, humiliation of the Tanzanians, and the right to protect human dignity. These ideas came from those in government and rich members of the society in Dar and abroad. The arguments against the ban came mainly from the poor and the petty traders and were based on grassroots reality. Some argued that it was better to have second-hand underwear than none at all, which would be the case given the high cost of new ones. They believed their human dignity was protected better if they are given the freedom to choose between the second-hand underwear and having none, rather than having no choice at all.

The underlying analyses of examples such as this have great significance for the social and economic development of the municipality. The emergence of newly wealthy socio-economic groups, the growing gap between urban rich and urban poor, and the resultant socio-economic

patterns emerging at work and in the settlements, present a serious challenge in the governance and development process of Kinondoni.

4.2 Governance, Institutions, Resource Flow and Development Projects

4.2.1 Good Governance and Accountability

In the ongoing local government reforms all urban authorities are legally required to produce broad ranging environmental profiles as part of good governance. In 2001 the Kinondoni municipal council published its environmental profile in which it reiterated the goals of the national local government reforms that included the improvement of the quality of public service provided by the local authorities or facilitated by the local authorities through involvement of the local stakeholders in the process of development (Sustainable Kinondoni Programme, 2001, p.3). Furthermore, in its 2002/2003 development programme, it stated its mission in very similar terms:

Bajeti ya Halmashauri ya manispaa ya Kinondoni kwa mwaka 2002 na 2002/2003 inalenga katika kuwaondolea wananchi wake umaskini. Aidha mkazo umewekwa katika kuijengea jamii uwezo ili iweze kupanga na kusimamia shughuli zake za maendeleo kwa lengo la kujenga uchumi ulio imara na endelevu kwa nia na jamii inayoweza kujitegemea. Ili kufikia lengo hili, Manispaa itatekeleza majukumu yake kwa uadilifu, ufanisi, uwajibikaji na uwazi ili kuweka misingi ya uongozi bora. Kwa hali hiyo, Manispaa itahakikisha inatumia rasilimali zake vizuri ambazo ni ardhi, watu, bahari, na madini. Majukumu haya yatafanywa kwa njia ya ushirikishwaji wa jamii na wadau wote wa Halmashauri. Kwa hiyo usimamizi wa kazi utazingatia sheria, kanuni na taratibu (Halmashauri ya Manispaa ya Kinondoni, 2002, p.1).

The budget of Kinondoni municipality for the year 2002 and 2002/2003 is aiming at eradicating poverty for its residents. The emphasis has been put on empowering the community so as to enable it to plan and monitor its own development activities for the purpose of building a strong and sustainable economy, aiming at a self reliant community. In order to achieve this goal, the municipality will carry out its duties with integrity, efficiency, accountability and openness. Under these conditions, the Municipality will use its resources well, which are, land, people, the ocean, and minerals. These responsibilities will be carried out by involving the community and all the stakeholders in the municipality . Therefore, monitoring the task will take into account, the law, principles and regulations (Halmashauri ya Manispaa ya Kinondoni, (HMK) 2002, p.1). (Unofficial translation by the author of this thesis).

This is a very ambitious mission statement covering all the major areas of good governance with emphasis on effective use of resources for the good of residents, empowering them to be in charge of the development process. This forms the backbone to the Kinondoni municipality's

policies and is within the provisions of the local government reform policy which was discussed in detail in chapter three. The municipality also added issues of fairness, accountability and the use of legal processes to guide the policy formulation and implementation of the development agenda. According to Mogella (2002, p. 3), the concept of good governance does not have a single and comprehensive meaning but rather admits varying degrees of emphasis. Nevertheless, it is possible to conceptualise the main principles that form the core of this concept especially in a manner that is relevant to urban development in a particular place such as Tanzania. In the first report about The Strategic Plan for Restructuring the City Council of Dar, it was rightly argued that:

Good governance is government carried out by elected persons regularly called to account by elections... which involves participation by institutions of civil society in the process of governing and which aims to maximize the welfare and potential of the people (Cowi, 1997, p. 132).

In this thesis I am arguing in line with the plan that a number of issues are crucial if governance is going to be effective. First, there is a procedural issue. Democratic institutions also imply the rule of law as well as representation of local actors' interests in the process of governing. Second is a communication issue. There has to be accountability and transparency so that the resources will be allocated fairly and with efficiency. Third there is a policy issue. Good governance involves the provision of services in order to improve the welfare of the local actors and thus their involvement in private as well as in civil organizations. This is essential not only for improving governance but also in meeting the demands of sustainable development.

According to Ngware, good governance must follow the "principles of mutual trust and reciprocity, accountability, efficiency, effectiveness and transparency in the promotion and defence of citizen paramount interests for the common good" (Ngware, 2000, p.20). Sustainable development demands that the urban authorities in Tanzania should be accountable, not simply to the Central government, but also to the urban population who wish to know how their urban councils are spending the resources gathered through tax and those given to them by Central

government. The Kinondoni mission statement included this form of accountability. The question is whether it has been translated into action on the ground.

Among the most serious challenges Kinondoni and the rest of Dar has had to face is how to govern the rapidly increasing number of people and how to eliminate poverty with limited resources. Dar is the most populated urban area in Tanzania. This is one of the factors that elevated the city’s status. In the 1957 national census, the population of Dar stood at 92,330 (Leslie, 1963, p 21). Thomas pointed out that in the 1967 census, there were “only 830,678 people in the sixty-two urban centres, which constitute the district headquarters” (Thomas, 1971, p18). Of this, Dar accounted for 356,286. By 1978 Dar had 843,090 residents and in 1988 the number had gone up to 1,360,850 people. In 2002, the population of Dar had increased to 2,497,940 with a growth rate 4.3% per annum between 1988 and 2002 (Tanzania National Website, 2003). The following table shows the rapid increase in population.

Table 3.1: Populations in Tanzania, Dar and Kinondoni from the Census

Actual Population From the Censuses					Annual Growth Rate	
Region	1967	1978	1988	2002	1978-1988	1988-2002
Total, Tanzania	12,313,469	17,512,610	23,095,878	34,569,232	2.8%	2.9%
Dar	356,286	843,090	1,360,850	2,497,940	4.8%	4.3%
Kinondoni	-	-	611, 672.	1,088,867	4.8%	

Source: 1. Tanzania National website <http://www.tanzania.go.tz/census/dsm.htm> 2003
2. Kinondoni Municipal Council, (KMC) 2002, p. 1

In the 1988 census, Kinondoni had a population of 611, 672. By the year 2002 during the census, this had grown to 1,088,867. Kinondoni is the most populated and fastest growing of the three municipalities in Dar. The pressure of this growth has increased the number of poor residents in Kinondoni and consequently increased demand on the municipality ’s limited service capacity. One of the government’s criterion for an urban area to qualify as a municipality is to have a population over 80,000, which Kinondoni had for many years, but was not given this status because it was part of Dar city.

Estimated population growth rates have been consistently exaggerated in official estimates in the country, and particularly in Dar. For example, in a paper presented by the Commissioner for Town Planning on behalf of the Dar es Salaam City Commission entitled “The Future of the City of Dar es Salaam”, the city’s growth rate is estimated to be between 8 and 10% making the population about 3.5 million (Ndunguru, 2000, p.1). Again, in the Strategic Urban Development Plan for the City of Dar es Salaam, (SUDP) it is clearly stated that the city has “an average growth rate of between 7-10 %” (SUDP, 2002, p. 29). However this is double the real growth rate of 4.3% as calculated from the 2002 census. The officials ignored the trend clearly shown in the 1988 census where the growth rates had fallen lower than those of 1978. The downward trend was also indicated in the national estimates published in 1999 in the Health Statistics Abstract indicating that Dar’s population in 2001 would be about 2.45 million people (Ministry of Health, 1999, p. 59), which is consistent with the 4.3% growth rate. So, why did the officials in the local government get it so wrong? Was it a matter of incompetence or were there other reasons for this error? Oddly, a number of academic papers accepted the exaggerated figures without challenge or deeper questioning. For example in the book *Urbanising Tanzania*, Kironde uncritically includes the 1996 table indicating that the population in Dar was already about 3 million while in reality six years later the census shows that it was actually only approaching 2.5 million people (Kironde, 2000, pp.40). Another example is that of a paper presented at the University of Dar in 2000, in which Kishimba simply stated that the population growth rate in Dar was about 8% (Kishimba, 2000, p.2). It is difficult to understand why these academics did not question the validity of the population estimates since the national statistical abstract gave very accurate indications of actual trends. Accurate data is essential for sustainable urban development planning and effective running of the government institutions.

4.2.2 Institutional Structures

For the purpose of governance, administration and development monitoring, Kinondoni has been divided into wards as provided in the local government reform policy aiming at bringing

the local authority close to the governed communities. The Urban Authorities Act no. 14 section 3 of the year 2000 stated that, “The area of the ward shall be divided into either ‘mitaa’ or villages consisting of a number of households which the urban authority may determine” (Local government Laws, 2000, p. 134). In the case of Kinondoni municipality there are a total of 27 wards and these are divided into 113 sub-wards and 14 villages. The sub-wards are subdivided into 10 house cells while the villages are divided into 14 hamlets (vitongoji) and into 10 house cells. There are also three parliamentary constituencies (SKP, 2001, p.2). All these are important governance structures for the government institutions such as the municipal council, or parliament, in the case of a constituency. These institutions are partly representative where leaders are elected into office and partly bureaucratic where some members are appointed into office by higher authorities or the governing bodies.

Kinondoni municipality, like other urban authorities in Tanzania, is governed by the Full municipal council, which is supposed to be representative of the residents. Kinondoni’s full municipal council has 41 councillors, 27 of whom are elected to represent the 27 wards in the municipality, while 10 are women special seats as directed in the national elections Act. There are also 3 members of parliament representing the three constituencies and 1 presidential appointee (KMC, 2001, p.3). It was interesting to find out that in Kinondoni all the councillors belonged to the ruling party, CCM, and the opposition parties had not won even a single seat. In other words, the dominance of the ruling party has not been seriously challenged by the introduction of political pluralism. All the 27 elected councillors were also male which means that, if there were no special seats, the full council would have had no women at all. Whether the system is representative or not is debatable, but Kinondoni residents, the majority of whom have been the urban poor, elected the councillors they thought would best represent their interests and seemingly they might have taken the politicians promises at face value.

Other institutions within the municipality are the departments of health, education, community development, personnel, land and urban planning. Also of great importance are the

development committees in every ward and represented in the municipal development committee (HMK, 2002). This committee is involved in development planning.

Healthcare institutions within Kinondoni municipality are an example of the variation of services available between the poor areas and the more affluent communities. Kinondoni has “eight registered hospitals, 181 registered dispensaries, five health centres and several registered and unregistered clinics, medical laboratories and medical stores” (Kinondoni Municipal Council, 2001, p.20). However out of the eight hospitals, only one, located at Mwananyamala, was a government hospital while the rest were privately owned. These are located in Magomeni, Manzese, Kawe, Mbezi and Oyster Bay wards. The more affluent Msasani ward has two private hospitals, which indicates that the kind of residential area one lived in might dictate what kind of health care was available.

To enhance democratic participation and involvement of the community in planning and monitoring of development, the government introduced working groups. The policy being pursued therefore was known as “participatory bottom-up environmental planning and management” (SUDP, 1999, p. 13). The aim of the policy was to use working groups to incorporate and empower ordinary communities in the decision making process as well as in monitoring development. The working groups established by the government for consultation have not succeeded in their vision of including a cross-section of Kinondoni residents. They have instead tended to be occupied by those who have knowledge and confidence of speaking their ideas in public without being intimidated. This is not the domain of the urban poor, the petty traders and fruit vendors who feel alienated from the process of development, and this is a fact the government should have taken into account by initiating working groups that offered incentives for the poor to participate. The challenge and value of raising awareness and persuading local actors to participate in the reforms and trust the newly formed institutions of Kinondoni municipal council must not be underestimated.

According to the reform agenda, sustainable development would only be possible through political representation and especially through political pluralism. In other words, development itself depends on the success of multiparty politics and the stability that would follow. In Tanzania and Dar es Salaam in particular, political parties have become structures of change, as they help to educate the people about their rights and various political processes. Chaligha argued about political parties that, “They help to educate citizens and enable them to make informed decisions” (Chaligha, 1998, p.11). However, the reality of local politics is such that the reform agenda is being seriously challenged at Kinondoni and elsewhere for a number of reasons. First, the opposition parties in Kinondoni are still too weak to pressure the government to act responsibly, be it at the local or national level. Second, concerted efforts towards effective planning and sustainable development are not necessarily dependent on the existence of the multiparty system. Nevertheless, competing political parties are helping to raise awareness about the state of politics, thus enabling the electorate to make better, informed choices. Furthermore, democratic institutions of governance can only help to improve the community participation in the development process and in the agenda set by both the local and Central government. According to Max, democracy in the, “local government means free elections of representatives to their local councils, something which also ensures their effective participation in Central government matters” (Max, 1991, p. 25). For Mabumbe, this participation gives the local communities a sense of ownership thus acting as an incentive for further involvement and contribution in the development process (Mabumbe, 1996). Moreover, Max argued further that, “on the other hand, freedom to choose their own representative also imposes responsibility upon the people to pay taxes in order to finance the many services and functions performed by their councils for their well-being” (Max, 1991, p. 25).

4.2.3 Resource Flow

Financial resources flow to the local government from the Central government and from local sources through taxation as stipulated in the taxation policy. Most of the urban councils are

heavily dependent on Central government grants. For example, in 2002, Kinondoni expected about 9.2 billion Tanzanian Shillings from Central government and augmented about 2.7 billion shillings from donors introduced by Central government (HMK, 2002, p 11). The expected amount is what has been proposed by the council and approved by Central government. The total from Central government and donors was 11.9 billion shillings, which is 73.45% of Kinondoni's budget and is equivalent to 1,093 shillings per capita. This is contrary to what Max had expressed that "A municipal council was expected to contribute a larger share of its revenue towards financing its services and functions" (Max, 1991, p.30). It is probably right therefore to argue that, "local (and regional) governments are basically conduits for Central government funds" (Therkildsen, 1998, p. 11). Because of this, although urban council claim they are making progress in raising local funds, the evidence suggests the contrary.

From all my interviews with the municipal officers, it was clear that Kinondoni municipal council prides itself on the presence of the University of Dar es Salaam in its area and the influence this institution has had on the local economy. However, they also asserted that the council is not happy that the revenue generated by taxing the University goes direct to Central government. Indeed, they argued against tax revenue from all big businesses and foreign embassies going to the Central government. However, arguably, most of the municipality's finance comes from the Central government grants for development projects, and salaries. As such, finance is one of the hottest issues in the development process and one that has been a source of much dispute between central and local government authorities despite the attempts made in fiscal decentralisation. According to Manche:

Fiscal decentralization is seen as an opportunity to create an environment in which local governments have the capacity to participate in and to manage local finances. It involves not only improving local revenue sources, but also strengthening the planning and management capabilities of local government officials and making budgetary reforms (Manche et al. 2001, p.2).

Serious problems have arisen from over-dependency on Central government for revenue and investment. This bottleneck is slowing down the sustainable urban development process because "Central government transfers are often designed inadequately, and the proceeds of

transfer programs are rarely sufficient to meet the basic needs of local governments” (Therkildsen, 1998, p.2). Furthermore, a better flow of revenue could be established by improving the economic growth taking advantage of the vast number of residents. Indeed being a city gives Dar the advantage of a large concentration of people but also requires government to find policies that foster innovation and cater for the needs of various local actors within a rapidly growing situation (Johnson, 1990, p.71). Johnson viewed cities as centres from which social change can be diffused through human interaction and political influence, but if the interaction does not benefit the residents, there might be complaints and even social strife.

Local taxation is one of the sources of financial in-flow to the local government. It is an important component of the local authorities’ tasks and it is necessary to improve collection methods and taxation systems in order to generate funds sufficient for service provision without alienating local residents. However, this has not been the case in Dar where Manche’s observation fits the reality. He observed that, generally, it appears that taxes are still levied on an out-of-date manner, for example, by force, arresting those who delayed paying tax and the confiscation of goods from the low-income traders (Manche et al. 2001, p.4).

According to the permanent secretary of the Ministry of Regional Administration and Local government, currently the source of revenue for the urban councils, apart from government grants, is local tax from within their jurisdiction. The tax includes four elements, the development levy, property tax, and the service levy, which is charged at 0.3% of turnover net of VAT for corporate entities (Personal interview with the Permanent Secretary, January 2001). Finally, the fourth source of tax revenue is the business licence, which is required by all business entities. As discussed in chapter three, the taxation policy in Tanzania has been very complex and impacts directly on the way resources flow into the municipality and back to the citizens as service provision.

The local government taxation system should therefore be examined critically so that the best means of increasing resources for local government may be found according to the

prevailing situation in an urban authority (Saliof et al, 2001, p.36). In the Strategic Urban Development Plan for the City of Dar es Salaam (SUDP) the city authorities admitted in 2002 that an “inadequate and poor city tax collection system limited generation of funds to provide adequate service” (SUDP, 2002, p.3). This recognition of the problems is to be commended but it does not resolve the problem of improving service provision and poverty reduction. There is a need to emphasise two points, increasing efficiency first in resource allocation and second in monitoring the implementation of policies in association with the local communities. Resource allocation is another area where increasing class tension has been visible at Kinondoni municipality. The distribution of resources is decided during the council budgets. My findings compare well with Therkildsen who argued that council budgets are times of serious debate on where to locate development project (Therkildsen, 1998).

According to Rakodi, the influence of urban local authorities is limited and their efforts should be concentrated on creating an environment conducive to investment and business (Rakodi, 2000, p 9). Rakodi’s ideas found resonance in the Dar es Salaam Strategic Development Planning, which argued that:

SUDP emphasizes the importance of providing an enabling environment, and requires therefore the revision of all relevant policies with a view of encouraging investment in the micro-trade sector. Such policy areas include social protection, access to land, access to finance and marketing facilities as well as capacity-building programs (Strategic Urban Development Plan. SUDP, 1999, p.9).

For these reasons the City Commission proposed the establishment of the Community Development and Co-operative Department. The Commission stipulated that, “This Department will focus on improving the earning capacity of local people, and improving their welfare and quality of life” (Fuko & Lubuva, 1999, p.44). In the follow up research in 2002, I found that the department had been introduced and was functioning. The head of this department was very cooperative and helped answer my questions about its role in the development process. In attempts to reduce the increasing gap between the lower earning groups and the emerging middle and higher earning groups in the society, the government had allocated funds for poverty alleviation and this department of community development oversaw the allocation and

distribution of these resources. For example, the department had the duty of organising various groups of people who needed minor loans for small-scale trade. Municipal documents stated:

The Municipality has established a Women and Youth Development Fund to accelerate and facilitate credit to women and youth. There are economic groups financed by 10% of the Municipal annual revenue and 596 groups of 2980 residents participating in the programme (Sustainable Kinondoni Programme, 2001, p34).

However the people had to show that they would be able to pay the money back before the officials would release the funds. One of the conditions was to make sure that each group had five people and all signed to encourage each other to pay the money back because, should any of them abscond, the rest would have to pay the loan back on their behalf. The programme was said to have benefited thousands of poor residents in Kinondoni municipality because they targeted the residents with lowest income. However, the officials responsible admitted that the resources available for allocation were not sufficient to meet the needs of all the urban poor and that more development projects and resources needed to be allocated for this purpose.

4. 2.4 Development Projects

Viable economic strategies and projects are crucial for the sustainability of urban development and these have to work according to the policies regarding the allocation of resources and provision of services. In 2002/2003 Kinondoni municipal council allocated 32.63% of its budget to development projects, 58.15% for running the municipality and for service provision while spending only 9.22% for salaries of its employees who work in departments that are not subsidised by the Central government (HMK, 2002, p. 13). This ambitious programme implies that the municipality was going to spend 90.78% of its budget on development projects, service provision and activities essential for these two to take place. The council committed itself to a process of involving stakeholders from all social classes in the planning and implementation of these projects whose focus would be on infrastructure and service provision. The targeted areas included roads, water provision, health-care, education, fisheries, agriculture and small-scale industries. For Rakodi:

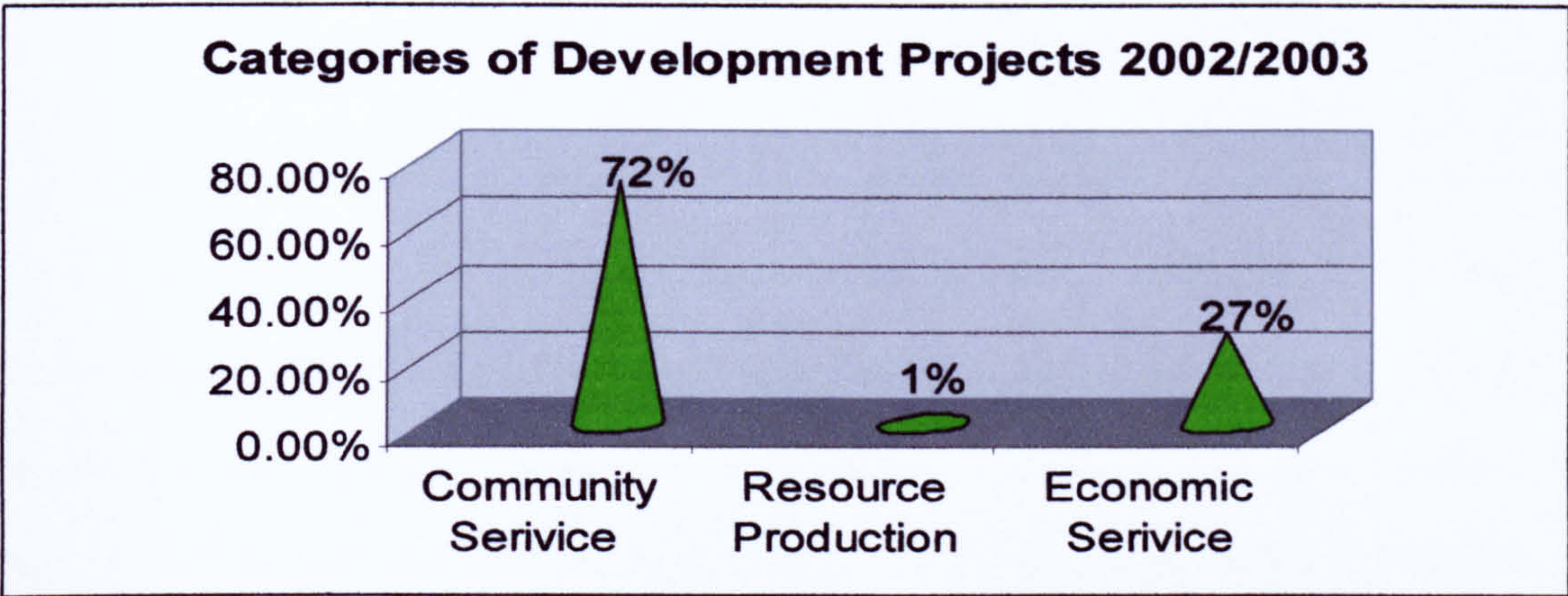
More economically well informed policy formulation is required, based on public-private sector collaboration, flexibility in responding to experience, and priority to creating conditions conducive to investment, the key tools in which are land administration, infrastructure investment and service delivery (Rakodi, 2000, p.10).

This has been partially attempted in Dar where an economic growth strategy was linked with city expansion plans, “aiming at maximising economic benefits and minimising environmental and social costs of urban expansion” (Strategic Urban Development Plan (SUDP), 1999, p. 4). Moreover, as part of the growth strategy, the city authorities thought it would be necessary to strengthen micro-trade and proposed a number of actions be taken. “These include identifying suitable sites and construction of centres for small-scale traders, improvement of market facilities, introduction of open-air markets, formation of traders associations and relocation of traders from unsuitable sites” (SUDP, 1999, p.8). The authorities also proposed to support urban agriculture for its contribution in food provision as well as in microclimate improvement. It is important to note that “the Strategic Urban Development Plan (SUDP) has been prepared as an output of the ongoing Environmental Planning and Management (EPM) process in the city of Dar es Salaam” (DUDP, 2002, p. i). This was established in 1992 along with the Sustainable Dar es Salaam Project and was fully operational in 1993. It continued in Kinondoni when the city was divided into three municipalities. The goal of EPM is to achieve sustainable development by planning jointly with local actors.

One of the strengths of SUDP has been its openness in exploring various areas in which government and non governmental agencies, private firms, community groups and those involved in the informal economy could participate in the implementation of development projects identified in the consultation. The consultation used working groups to generate information and ideas. In practice there was unevenness in the take-up by the different income groups and they were dominated by the confident educated classes. However, notwithstanding their weaknesses, the success of these groups in generating developmental ideas inspired the city authorities to institutionalise partnerships by inducing the planning department at the City Council to initiate, coordinate and support various working groups. This is seen as having

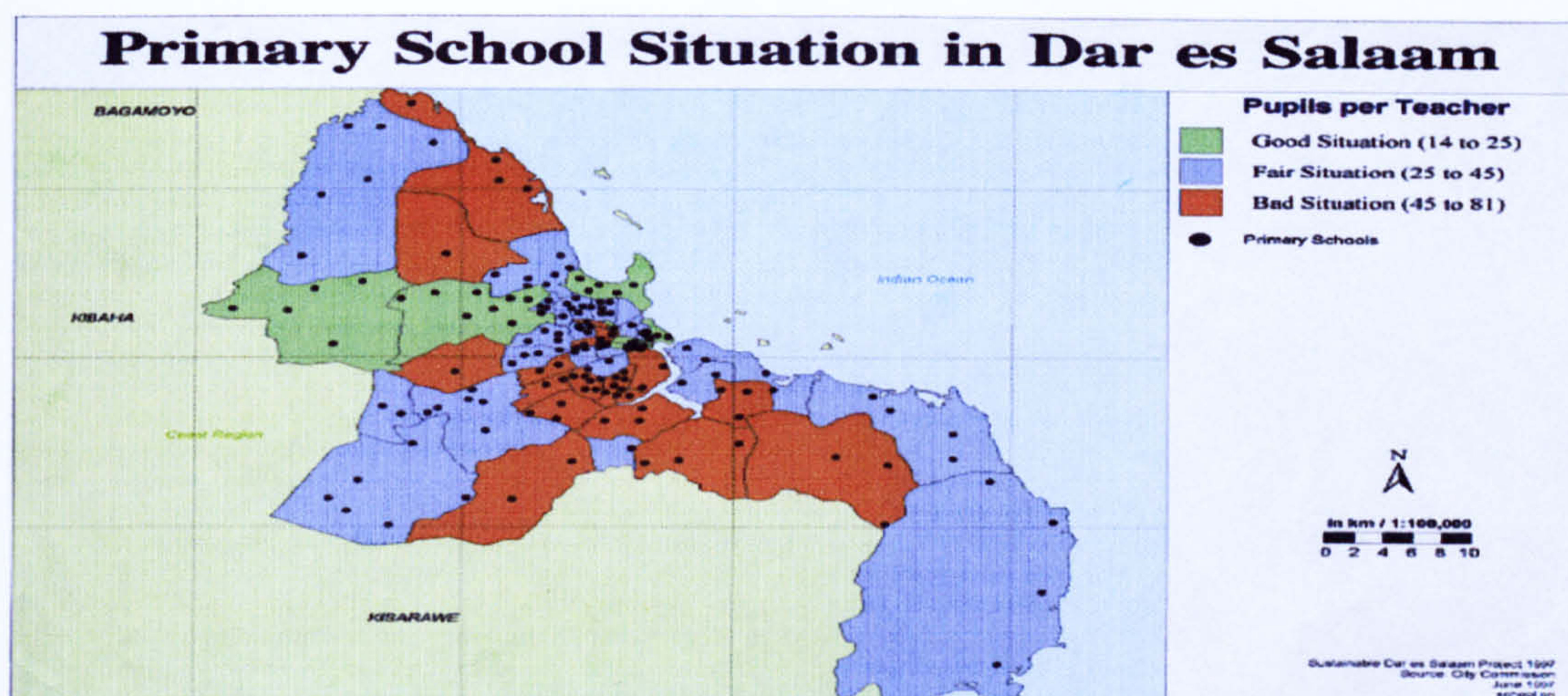
helped to enhance stakeholder participation in the development process. According to SUDP, “The process was carried out through a bottom-up participatory approach by involving relevant stakeholders from the public, private and popular sector parties working together in issue specific cross sector and multi institutional working groups” (SUDP, 2002, p. i). Among the choices that were made in this process was the privatisation of some service provision, starting with cleaning the municipality. This was the official stance given by Kinondoni councillors and officers, especially the heads of departments.

Figure 4.3: Categories of Development Projects; Kinondoni Municipal Council



Following Kinondoni’s plan to carry out the policy agenda aiming at eradicating poverty, the development project resources were allocated in three main sections. The first section was community service provision which was allocated 72% of the funds set aside for projects and service provision (HMK, 2002, p. 138). The aim here was to follow the government policy to improve service provision in five central policy areas. First, the local government policy wanted to improve educational standards and facilities such as classrooms, offices and maintaining the old buildings. In Dar as a whole the number of schools is larger than in any other urban area in the country and yet many are in need of refurbishment. Figure 4.4 below indicates the primary schools distribution in Dar es Salaam.

Figure 4.4: Primary Schools in Dar



Source: Sustainable Dar es Salaam Project, 2002.

With the reintroduction of universal and free primary education in 2001 in which parents do not have to pay tuition fees, there has been an increase in enrolment. For example in Kinondoni, the gross enrolment rate of 7-13 year olds was at 89% in 2000/01. But high levels of enrolment do not necessarily equate with high quality of education. “The Municipality has only 1,015 classrooms despite a requirement of 2, 768 providing a shortfall of 1,753. There is also a shortage of toilets” (National Bureau of Statistics, 2002, p.8). There is a shortage of teachers, textbooks and cupboards and the district had a much higher than average staff per pupil ratio of 1:23 while the national average is 1:45 pupils. Mbilinyi advocated that it is transformative education that the government should pursue as a strategy for combating urban poverty and achieving sustainability in urban development (Mbilinyi, 1999, p. 28-29). More will be learnt in the analysis of the official and local views of the process of development.

Second, the policy also aimed at improving healthcare provision and facilities such as new maternity wards, dispensaries as well as expanding existing ones. Third, the government policy intended to build community capacity for women and youth in urban and rural areas of Kinondoni for sustainable development, by allocating loans for various self-help groups and training them on how to invest. Fourth, the policy aimed at improving water provision and purchasing new equipment for digging wells. However, the problem of water provision in

Kinondoni has persisted and the government planned only to retain the existing water policy. Yet within the limits of the existing safe water policy, not even one of the urban areas in Tanzania managed to provide three quarters of the amount needed. For example in 1999 Dar needed 90 million gallons of water per day and the actual amount that is reaching the consumer is 30 million gallon per day, implying therefore a deficit of 60 million gallons per day (Dar, City Commission, 1999, p.23). This implies that the city is able to provide only 33.3 % of the water required to satisfy its inhabitants' needs. Worse still, 35% of what is available is lost through leakages. The authority claimed that the source of water from Ruvu Dam is unable to meet the needs of the rapidly increasing urban population. However it has not accounted for the wasted water. To improve the service, plans were introduced to privatise the company providing water in Dar. However even after privatisation things have not improved. This was observed in 2005 when a prominent piece of research stated:

In Dar es Salaam the most prominent problem identified was the lack of adequate and clean water...The respondents reminisced about the promise of abundant water following privatization of the previous state owned water service institution, DAWASA. They questioned whether there was any benefit at all in the privatization of the state managed institution (Kelsall et al, 2005, p. 22).

Fifth, improvement of the transportation system as well as purchasing refuse collection vehicles was seen as another critical issue in the development programme. This was linked with the aim of opening roads in 15 wards which was a legal requirement (HMK, 2002, p. 138).

The second section in the development projects and service provision was the resource production area which was allocated only 1% of the funds (HMK, 2002, p. 139). The policy here was first, to look after the natural resources and continuing planting thousands of trees, and taking care of the seashore in order to reduce the effects of environmental damage. The second point was to promote agriculture by selling the best seeds to the farmers and enabling them to use modern methods of farming and animal husbandry in order to improve production and their livelihoods (HMK, 2002, p. 139).

The third section in the development project was the economic services which included building construction and roads, and was allocated 27% of the budget funds. The policy aimed

at making sure that office buildings were constructed for two wards and repairing old offices for civil servants in the municipality. It also aimed at buying road construction equipment and using it to maintain the road and drainage system in the municipality (HMK, 2002, p. 139).

4.3 The Official View of the Development Process

The official view will be analysed with reference to ten areas. First, is the development policy approach, second, the state of transportation and third, taxation policy. The fourth area will be small scale loans, the fifth, working groups and the sixth, central and local government relations. The seventh area will be on housing, the eighth, education policy, ninth, healthcare and tenth, water provision in Kinondoni. The officers' response was in two main categories. The first was the official version which more or less followed what was in the municipal documents. The second was the personal reflection which sometimes was critical of the official view and attacked the councillors in Kinondoni. The councillors mostly conformed to the official view.

Five of the six officers interviewed in Kinondoni argued that the municipal council was a new institution and had a lot to learn and improve upon. They also argued that it would not be fair to make judgements about its performance having had so short time in office. One argued:

Two years in office is not long enough to decide whether the municipality was doing a good job or not. We have just started seeing the fruits of investment in various areas and each department is committed to improving standards as the government directed. It is only now that Kinondoni is clean throughout the week, more buses are running and the roads are being built. Therefore those who are criticising us are the people who hoped for favours and are not getting anything. The system is fair and we can only do so much, given the resources we have. I do not pretend that we are perfect, but we are doing a good job, given our limited funds and manpower. One of the biggest development problems is the education of Councillors. Most of them are not competent. They do not know what is viable economically or socially and many times do not wish to listen to our advice. In my opinion, they should be sent to school to learn their duties and how to support the development initiatives from the electorate only when they are deemed to be viable rather than when they seem to be popular even if they do not make economic sense (Interview with one head of department at Kinondoni municipality, Sep. 2002).

These views were shared by the other four officers interviewed while one officer was rather critical of the lack of self evaluation within the municipality. He was the only one who thought that the council had lost touch with its electorate:

What we need at the moment is to study the people's needs and to try to see what we can do about it. At the moment we keep fighting between us, the officers and the elected members of the council, instead of working together towards development. Most of the arguments here have little to do with development. For example we spent a long time discussing the amount members of the council should be receiving when they attend the council meetings. That should have been time spent trying to find out ways of attracting donors to our municipality and how to fund our development projects. The people know this and they are not happy. Two years in office should have produced more visible changes, but we do not have much to show. We need to change our approach and focus if Kinondoni is to be counted as a progressive municipality working towards sustainable development (Interview with one head of department at Kinondoni municipality, Sep. 2002).

This officer's views were isolated because the other five, whom I interviewed in Kinondoni, maintained the official stance that things were working well and progress was being made. They also argued that the approach was right and did not need to be changed. Two of the councillors disagreed with the official stance while one said the development approach was good.

Table 3.2: The Views of the Officers and Councillors in Kinondoni

Category	Officers demanding changes		Officers satisfied with policy		Councillors demanding change		Councillors satisfied with policy		Total no of Offic.	Total No. of Coun.
Development policy	1	17%	5	83%	1	33%	2	67%	6	3
Transportation	2	33%	4	67%	3	100%	0	0%	6	3
Taxation ¹⁴ policy	3	50%	2	33%	1	33%	2	67%	6	3
Small scale loans	1	17%	5	83%	3	100 %	0	0%	6	3
Working groups	0	0%	6	100%	1	33 %	2	67 %	6	3
Local and central relationship	4	67%	2	33%	3	100%	0	0%	6	3
Housing problem	0	0%	6	100%	0	0%	3	100%	6	3
Transformative education	0	0%	6	100%	0	0%	3	100%	6	3
Health care cost sharing	6	100%	0	0%	3	100%	0	0%	6	3
Water provision	3	50%	3	50%	1	33%	2	67%	6	3

¹⁴ . One of the officers declined to comment about taxation that is why only 5 appear in the table.

With regard to the transportation system, the official line was that there has been improvement and residents had good national network starting from Dar, and that more investment would follow in the coming years. Four of the officers interviewed further argued that the residents have access to the trains from Tanzania to Zambia as well as the local trains from Dar to Kilimanjaro, Mwanza and Kigoma. The other two thought transportation was still a problem and much more needed to be done. In this issue as indicated in table 3.2 above, two-thirds of the officers interviewed shared the official stance signalling that they were satisfied with the prevailing situation, while the other third sought major changes. In responding to the questions about the municipality's performance and the role played by transportation systems in the process of development, it emerged that most of the officers' views were following the official stance and only the minority were willing to analyse the reality of development in Kinondoni critically. As such it is hard to see how a new vision could emerge to advance the municipality into sustainable development.

The three councillors interviewed at Mwenge, Manzese and Ubungu agreed that many people were complaining about the work of the municipal council and that there was a rift between them and the appointed officers. One of the three, and probably the most vocal, argued:

It is not a secret that the officers do not care much about the needs of the people. They want to keep their jobs and so will try to do only what the Central government has demanded. They also try to influence the municipal council rather than enlighten it with the expertise they have in their departments. In fact they think they can rule the elected councillors. But we have refused this and now they have to follow our decisions in the full council meetings. All the same because of the officer's eloquent arguments, we councillors seem to be pushing unworkable ideas. They forget that those are the ideas of the local communities we represent and, should there be willingness among the officials, those ideas would work perfectly well. For example in my area, we need feeder roads to be maintained. We have not yet demanded that all the feeder roads should be tarmac though this is what the people want. We know the argument of having no money to do so, but we are asking for bulldozers to keep the road accessible during the rainy season, and this is not happening. We are losing tax money because people cannot go to sell goods in the market and they are losing their livelihoods. This is not sustainable (Interview with one councillor of Kinondoni municipality, Sep. 2002).

The other two councillors agreed that most people in their wards complained about the state of feeder roads but all agreed that the major roads were much improved. They supported the above views with regard to the relationship between them and the appointed officers.

Although one councillor kept repeating that “the officers have good intentions, but have no resources to implement the changes needed,” this revealed a huge gap between the official stance and the councillors’ individual perception of the day to day performance of Kinondoni municipal council.

One area where the officers and the councillors had the same view was that because of its location in Dar, the municipality was near to the Central government and that gave it greater access to resources and audience with the corresponding national government departments. This was viewed by all the officers and councillors as something positive. However there was no agreement on how to take advantage of this, or how the municipality had concretely benefited, except for more money coming from donors and access to foreign investment.

In its effort to increase revenue the Kinondoni municipal council stands accused of increasing divisions between the more affluent communities and the less well off members of the society. According to three of the officers 50%, it was obvious that the council was going to serve all the inhabitants of Kinondoni but those making a large contribution had to be given priority in order to help them to invest more in the municipality. One of these three officers said:

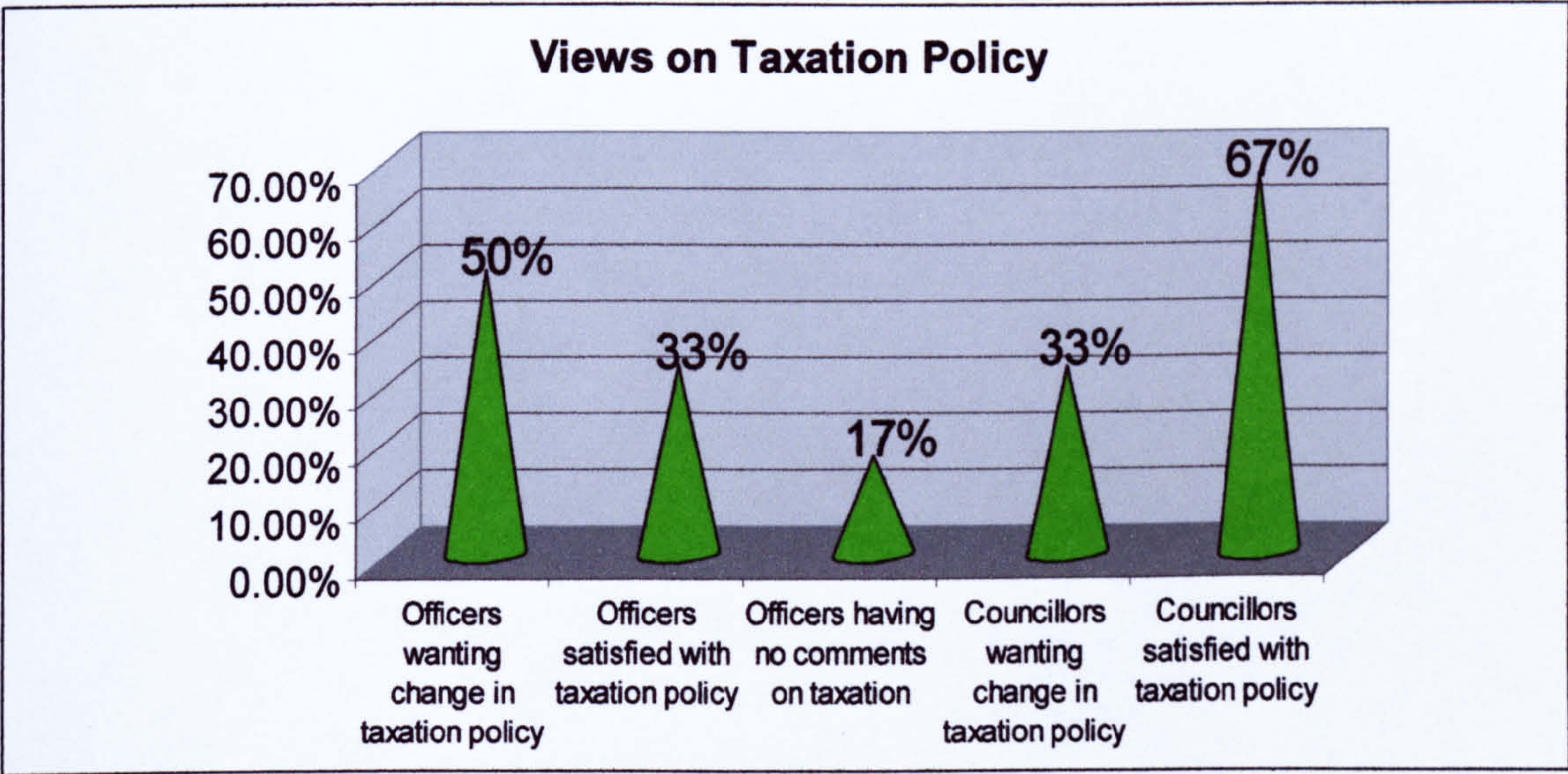
You see, by accepting capitalism we have to accept that some people will get rich quickly and others will remain poor for a long time. It does not mean that the council should not help the poor to get better, but it means that it also has the responsibility of helping those who are getting richer because they pay more tax to the government and we use that for development projects including roads to poor areas and schools for all. It does not make sense to help the poor if we have nothing to use to support them in overcoming poverty. Sometimes we have to focus on those who are generating cash for the municipality even if it might seem that we are neglecting the poor (Interview with one head of department at Kinondoni municipality, Nov. 2000).

These views were largely supported by the other two officers and had not changed much by 2002 in the follow up research. One officer declined to comment on taxation and issues to do with division and conflict between the poor and the rich in Kinondoni. Two officers disagreed with the municipal approach. These two officers commented that:

The council will lose credibility if it does not do something about the growing gap between the rich and the poor. Some of our colleagues think we are socialists and that is why we keep talking about the need to help the poor and improve their conditions instead of focusing on those groups that are making a higher taxation contribution to the municipality. Probably we all need to go to learn about proper economic management with special skills aimed at local government. I must say that we cannot keep harassing the poor traders, and arrest them because they have not paid tax. Instead we need to educate them on this issue and support them. If we keep managing the resources poorly and fail to distribute them justly, social and economic problems will increase in Kinondoni instead of being solved. The fact is that if we keep neglecting the poor, we will have to deal with bigger health problems, more crime and disorder and probably civil disobedience. Therefore even if we did not wish to focus on the poor for their own sake, we should do so for the sake of sustainable development (Interview with one head of department at Kinondoni municipality, Nov. 2000).

Again it was the minority (as demonstrated in table 3.2 above and in figure 4.5 below), who argued in defence of the poor and for the need of improved education and management of resources. There was an identifiable disunity among the officers that is indicative of the problems making it difficult to formulate coherent development policies that would work for the good of all towards sustainable development.

Figure 4.5: Views on Taxation Policy



Generally the councillors tended to agree with the views given by the urban poor especially when interviewed informally. On the issue of taxation and differences between the poor and the rich, two councillors did not want to speak in formal interviews though they supported the official view when pushed to make a choice. One of the three councillors said in an informal interview:

Petty traders have not been well treated by the local government for various reasons. They occupy land not formally allocated to them; they pay little or no tax, they do not follow directives issued by the municipality and do not generally cooperate with the authority. These are plenty of reasons to make the municipal authority angry and the reaction in most cases has been to send the police to clear them from the streets, destroy their goods and so on. What we should do though is provide them with specific areas and financial support and education. This has started but for these last two years not much has been achieved. Influential people have more done for them than the poor. However, this is probably the political reality anywhere in the economic world where interests were clashing (Interview with one councillor of Kinondoni municipality, Sep. 2002).

The issue seemed to be divisive right to the core of Kinondoni municipality with the majority supporting policies favouring the well off communities whom they assume would bring more money to the local government, while the minority favoured policies that would focus on alleviating poverty and bringing prosperity to all. Yet coherent policies were needed to move the economy and the development process forward in which case a balancing act between the two approaches would be necessary. As explained in the previous section, in 1999, in an attempt to create that balance the City Commission proposed the establishment of the Community Development and Co-operative Department. By 2002 this department was functioning and was overseeing the allocation and distribution of resources to poor people who needed minor loans for small-scale trade.

However the people had to show that they would be able to pay the money back before the officials would release the funds. One officer described their implementation decisions, saying:

One of the conditions we have set is that each group must have five people and all must agree to encourage each other to pay the money back because, should any of them abscond, the rest would have to pay the loan back on their behalf. We need the money back in order to help others. Thus we have to set rather tough conditions. The programme has helped thousands of poor residents in the municipality because they targeted the residents with lowest income. Although we, the municipality, have inadequate resources available for allocation to meet the needs of all the urban poor, we are trying our best to be fair and impartial in deciding who gets the loan and to allocate land for informal operators. We know that the informal sector is important to the Municipality because of the services they provide at affordable cost but we also want them to work more orderly to organise themselves to improve productivity (Interview with one head of department at Kinondoni municipality, Sep. 2002).

Five of the six officers interviewed had similar ideas about the role of the poverty alleviation funds given by the community development department but did not question the extent to which the policy was working for the target group. One officer, however, said that “the money is very

much needed but there has been neither efficiency nor fairness in allocating the funds. The system still favours those who are well off within the low income groups while neglecting those who needed the funds most” (Interview with one head of department at Kinondoni municipality, Sep 2002).

All the three councillors on the other hand believed that the officers were not efficient in allocating resources. One of them argued:

The targeted groups are not always benefiting from the allocated funds though generally the funds reached the poor (Interview with one Councillor of Kinondoni municipality, Sep. 2002).

The officers’ response was that the councillors were politicians and were worried about the people’s demands, however unworkable they might have been and did not know much about what was economically viable. This split in the council in itself might not have been very damaging, especially if it merely enhanced rational debate and creative thinking for better policies. However the fact that the majority of the officials interviewed did not see why major changes were needed to improve performance and efficiency is a matter of great concern.

According to the Strategic Urban Development Plan for the City of Dar es Salaam (SUDP), working groups were established as a tool for consulting the local stakeholders in the process of setting up development policy and implementation as an essential part of the local government reforms. “The process was carried out through a bottom-up participatory approach by involving relevant stakeholders from the public, private and popular sector parties working together in issue specific cross sectoral and multi institutional working groups” (SUDP, 2002, p. i). Among the choices that were made in this process was the privatisation of some service provision, starting with cleaning the municipality . This was the official stance given by both the councillors and the council officers. All six officers agreed that the working groups were set up properly and seemed to be doing their job. Only one of them had some reservation which he said he would not as yet want to discuss. The councillors also agreed with the officers’ views though one of them pointed out that:

Consultation has been taking place very marginally because the views of the poorest were not clear and thus were ignored. When they were clear, they tended to be critical of the local authority and thus no one wanted to listen or consider in detail how useful they could be in the development process. The reform agenda is thus having a very small impact among the low income communities who form the majority of Kinondoni residents (Interview with one councillor of Kinondoni municipality, Sep. 2002).

According to this councillor, participation therefore has been perceived as useful but only when those participating are singing praises to those in power. When they oppose the ideas of those in charge, their participation seems to be considered unnecessary and their ideas redundant. The implication here is that the core of the government's local government reform policy is torn apart and is having little if any effect on the urban poor in Kinondoni. Furthermore, even though it is clear that multiparty politics has helped to increase participation and all the officers and councillors interviewed gave 100% support to this political reality, its real influence in a de-facto CCM municipal council is negligible.

The municipal officials thought they had a good working relationship with Central government. This was the official stance. However, four of the six officers were deeply unhappy with the way Central government demanded that they should implement unpopular policies such as cost-sharing in health care while they were delighted that the Central government allowed them to increase tax. The councillors on the other hand were not happy with either of these two unpopular policies. One of the councillors said:

It is very sad that the local officers are celebrating tax increase and other charges because this has made my life very difficult. People keep coming to complain every now and then. Some went as far as asking if I was asleep when the policies were passed. Members of the opposition parties have gained popularity in my ward because they oppose such measures publicly and I cannot do that as a councillor of the ruling party (Interview with one councillor of Kinondoni municipality, Sep. 2002).

This last comment provides an interesting insight into the positive progress of multi-party politics in local government, in that it represents the beginnings of challenge to the ruling party despite the opposition parties' low electoral achievement.

Fuko and Lubuva pointed out that the local government is "guided by Government policy in many areas and the cost-sharing policy in primary health care illustrate the case where the Government takes difficult and unpopular decision which are then implemented at local level"

(Fuko, & Lubuva, 1999, p. 8). By contrast, Central government officials claimed that they had to intervene on a number of occasions to stop local government authorities overcharging their residents even those who lived in overcrowded and un-serviced areas.

When interviewed, Kinondoni municipal and the city officials did not deny the reality of squalid living conditions in the poorest pockets of the city and in some of its suburbs. However, all six officers argued vehemently that it was lack of adequate funding in the face of a very rapid increase in the rate of urbanisation that caused this situation. For them, it was a financial problem rather than a political one. Nevertheless, one of them argued that:

It is both a political and a financial problem, because of how we prioritise issues. If we increased our effort and research of viable cheap accommodation and spent less time squabbling about how much money we will get for attending meetings, the problems would have been reduced (Interview with one head of department at Kinondoni municipality , Sep. 2002).

The councillors had similar views though they were at times sharing some reservations about the extent to which the lack of good governance exacerbated the problem. The Strategic Urban Development Plan for the City of Dar es Salaam (SUDP) stated that:

The high population growth, limited financial resources, inadequate urban administrative actions and lack of co-ordination for meeting the requirements has resulted into more than 70% of the city population living in un-serviced and unplanned land necessitating unfavourable living conditions of the communities (SUDP, 2002, p.22).

The documents show that my respondents were at least in part right. There has been a political failure in terms of administration and long term planning for shelter and service provision. However, Kinondoni municipality claimed that housing has been improving.

Kinondoni municipality claimed that it is using education as one of its important strategies for sustainable development. It also claimed that the expectation is to increase knowledge and employment among the youth in the municipality, to reduce illiteracy and ignorance in the whole society as well as to increase income for the municipality and the community (Kinondoni Municipal Council 2001, p. 19). All the six officers interviewed supported this official line and added individually that access to education had been opened to the whole nation when the government reintroduced free primary education. Also that

Kinondoni had children getting higher grades and more were entering secondary schools than ever before. The same views were shared by the councillors as well as Central government officials interviewed.

Another key area was healthcare which was included in the priority policies as indicated above. All the six officers agreed that there have been problems caused by cost sharing programme. They also argued that there is not much the government can do given the suggestions from the IMF and the World Bank to cut cost. Besides, there were not enough funds to cover the cost of healthcare for all. The councillors were also unanimous in rejecting this stance, one of them saying:

It would be better if the government subsidised the poor while charging those with middle and higher income (Interview with one councillor at Kinondoni municipality, Sep. 2002).

The final key policy area looked at was improving water provision in Kinondoni. Three of the six officers interviewed thought that the main problem was shortage of resources and the rapid increase in the population of the city. It was seen as a problem caused by lack of funds to repair old pipes in the city, to expand the reservoirs and maintain the old ones. The other three officers thought that the problems were rather complex and one of them commented that:

The problem of inadequate water provision in Kinondoni involves both the shortage of resources as well as poor management and the absence of the culture of maintenance (Interview with one head of department at Kinondoni municipality, Sep. 2002).

The fact that fifty percent of the officers did not think the council needed to change its management approach despite losing 35% of the available water, is a reason for concern. Two councillors also claimed the main problem was funding while the third one thought it is more complex than that. Sustainable development requires maintaining the good values and achievement of the existing development but more still, it demands a constant renewal of strategies in order to take advantage of new vision and opportunities for personal and community progress. In this way the electorates' ideas of the process of development will form an essential part of the evaluation and debate for development policy.

4. 4 Views of the Electorate of the Development Process

The electorate in Kinondoni seemed to have formed their view about the development process in accordance with their own particular circumstances. For example, 20 of the 27 people interviewed (74%), as indicated in table 3.3 below, did not think that the municipal council was doing a good job. Of the 18 petty traders interviewed 15 thought that Kinondoni was not taking full advantage of its position in the city of Dar. Of the 9 respondents interviewed in their own homes, who were involved in a variety of occupations, 4 thought that the council was doing just fine. Interestingly, three of these came from the affluent middle income ward of Kijitonyama.

Table 3.3 Views of the Electorate in Kinondoni

Category	Supporting official stance		Against official stance		Do not know about it		Total	
Municipal performance	7	26%	20	74 %	-	-	27	100%
Transportation	8	30%	19	70%	-	-	27	100%
Population figures	6	22%	21	78%	-	-	27	100%
Income group tension	5	19%	22	81%	-	-	27	100%
Managing resources	10	37%	17	63%	-	-	27	100%
Taxation	7	26	20	74%	-	-	27	100%
Small scale loans	5	19%	12	44%	10	37%	27	100%
Land allocation	8	30%	19	70%	-	-	27	100%
Government reforms	6	22%	15	56%	6	22%	27	100%
Representation	11	41%	16	59%	-	-	27	100%
Participation	10	37%	17	63%	-	-	27	100%
Accountability to electorate	3	11%	18	67%	6	22%	27	100%
Central Gov. planning	19	70%	8	30%	-	-	27	100%
Municipal Planning	5	19%	22	81%	-	-	27	100%
Transformative education	10	37%	17	63%	-	-	27	100%
Migrant employment	8	30%	19	70%	-	-	27	100%
Health care	3	11 %	24	89%	-	-	27	100%
Water provision	5	19%	22	81%	-	-	27	100%

The electorates' views are more or less summed up by one petty trader interviewed at Mwenge bus station. The trader, who had finished secondary education but had not found a job, said very fluently that:

I tell you brother that the municipal council and the Central government are similar in spending on themselves leaving us suffering in the hot sun. They have invested very little in the fishing industry, transportation and other services. Open your eyes and you will see the suffering of the people. The council is now two years in office and yet it has not even begun to take advantage of the local resources. Trade is still poorly organised and the municipality has not been able to monitor the major investors in order to direct them to the priority areas such as fishing and textile industry. You see, that if the government had invested in fishing, we would have affordable and modern fishing equipment and would contribute to the economy (Interview with a Kinondoni Petty Trader at Mwenge Bus Station, Sep. 2002).

These views were shared by many who added their own evaluation of the prevailing situation.

One of them said:

Although Kinondoni has the best beaches in the country, the authorities have not invested in keeping them clean throughout the year in order to attract more tourists. Only a few of the beaches were maintained to a high standard throughout, and tourist hotels are not all well maintained. I think that hotel owners who are not meeting national standards should be fined (Interview with a Kinondoni Petty Trader at Mwenge Bus Station, Sep. 2002).

According to the municipal officials, Kinondoni, like the rest of Dar, has good road links with the other two municipalities of Ilala and Temeke and transport had very much improved. This view was, however, contested by 19 of the 27 electorate interviewed. Their views are well represented by one resident interviewed at home in Ubungo:

Although the roads have improved compared to their terrible state in the 1980s, they are still poorly maintained. When it rains, cars cannot reach my house and that makes it very difficult for me to carry goods to the market. Generally the main road network is good but the small roads are still in a bad state. Also the national railway line is in ruins because the government is not investing in the maintenance of the infrastructure. Furthermore, public transport is poorly organised and there is a terrible congestion in Kinondoni (Interview with a Kinondoni resident at Ubungo, November 2000).

It is therefore clear that the majority of the electorate interviewed disagreed with what the officers and the councillors argued in terms of organisation, transportation system and the municipality's performance in the process of development. However, they agreed with the officials that the presence of NGOs and international organisations increased employment and attracted donors to Kinondoni. In fact 16 of those interviewed argued that closeness to Central government enabled people to solve problems more easily than those living in regional

municipalities, and added that it has to be the reason ministers were resisting the move to Dodoma. The six civil members of the civil society and NGOs held very similar views.

Asked in September 2002, what would be the most likely reason for the local government to get its population figures much higher than estimates from national statistics office as well as the census, 78% argued that it was common practice for local government officials working for the city council or municipal council to exaggerate the population growth rate in order to get more funding from Central government. One resident said:

It is not unusual for the local government officials to quote large figures in order to explain why the services had not improved. If you ask, why there is not sufficient water, or why the electricity is rationed every now and then, the response is always that there are more people than funding because a large number of people migrate to the city daily. We are asking where has the money gone to but we get no answers. It has to be in someone's pocket because there is a high level of corruption in both local and Central government and that is why the population estimates were exaggerated (Interview with a Kinondoni Petty Trader at Mwenge Bus Station, Sep. 2002).

When asked about the role of the municipal council in reducing tensions between the more affluent communities and the low income groups 22 of the 27 interviewed in Kinondoni were of the view that, instead of helping, the council has sided with the rich in oppressing petty traders because the urban poor make very small contributions in terms of tax. Their complaints are summarised by one petty trader:

If a businessman asks the government to move people from an area, the following day the police will be harassing them. But if we request that the businessmen or women dig tunnels so that water does not remain logged near our stalls, nothing happens. The businessmen are increasing the problem of rain waterlog because they take the soil to level the ground in front of their shops, without considering the effect their actions might have on poor traders like me (Interview with a Kinondoni resident at Mwenge Bus Station, November 2000).

These views were supported by the religious leaders at the Catholic Secretariat and central Mosque who added that only a handful of irresponsible businessmen had been damaging the environment. The other two NGOs, UMATI and Kuleana's officials thought that the petty traders' story had some truth in it and that this group of people needed more support from the government. It is clear then that most of the residents believe that the powerful are bent not on helping the less well off but helping themselves be they in business or in government. This was

also observed in another piece of recent research: “the respondents in Dar es Salaam suspected a cynical motivation for holding power” (Kelsall et al, 2005, p. 29).

However, when speaking to residents in the more affluent suburb of Kijitonyama, most views were very different from those of the petty traders and of those interviewed at their homes at Ubungo and Mwenge:

These Machingas (petty traders) have no respect for business people. They do not really understand how to do business. They are dirty and a bother to deal with. Surely the Municipal council should intervene more to reduce the nuisance they cause every day to entrepreneurs and other residents (Interview with a Kinondoni resident at Kijitonyama, November 2000).

All the Kijitonyama residents interviewed said they had good public or private sector jobs and had a number of domestic servants. One of them said he was an entrepreneur. The entrepreneurs belong to the emerging middle income groups and the servants belong to the low-income group of the urban poor whose voice, claimed most of the petty traders at Kinondoni, is lost before it reaches the authorities or in the official’s offices. Religious leaders agreed that the newly developing business class are not sympathetic to the plight of the urban poor, or if they are, do not show it. One said, “They are interested in maximizing their profits, not the common good”.

In Tanzania, it has been observed that the capacity of local authorities to generate and manage their own funds is very low, let alone those granted by the Central government. The then principal secretary of the ministry of finance said that as a result of this weakness about 90% of local government expenditure in Tanzania is still coming from Central government. In Kinondoni, 63% of those interviewed from the electorate, argued that their council was very poor at managing resources. In fact while 37% said the municipality was ‘good’ at managing resources, 22% suggested it was ‘poor’ in managing resources and 41% argued that it was ‘very poor’, which is a comment not favourable to a council that claims to be working hard towards sustainable development.

However most of them agreed that the council was vigorous in gathering revenue through taxation and in finding ways to get money into the officials’ own pockets. Tax is an important component of the local authorities’ tasks and it is necessary to improve collection methods and

taxation systems in order to generate funds sufficient for service provision without alienating local residents. However, this has not been the case in Dar where Manche's observation fits the reality. He observed that, generally, it appears that taxes are still levied on an out-of-date manner, for example, by force, arresting those who delayed paying tax and the confiscation of goods from the low-income traders (Manche et al. 2001, p.4). This was the experience of most of the petty traders and fruit vendors interviewed at Kinondoni where 20 of the 27 electorate respondents 74% disagreed with the method of taxation and the complexity of tax. Only 26% agreed with the official view on taxation. Claiming to have had a very negative experience, a distraught Kinondoni trader, who was selling at one of the officially approved area said:

The municipal authority is targeting the poorest of all. Imagine, I failed to pay tax and was arrested by the authorities. Thus I could not sell for the day and was fined, I had to borrow money to save my business and I do not know how I will repay my landlord, who gave me the loan. I know that my neighbour had not paid either but was not arrested. He knew someone at the municipal office. This is very unfair (Interview with a Kinondoni resident at Mwenge Bus Station, November 2000).

Unfortunately, this was just one of the many who complained about the methods used by their local authority in gathering revenue. A system they perceived as unfair, oppressing the poor while favouring those who were already doing well in business.

This country has the most complicated tax system in the world. We have to pay so many taxes. I wish they could simplify the system so that we can all understand it. I do not trust what they tell me, I have no choice but to pay as much as they demand, otherwise my children will soon have no food (Interview with a Kinondoni resident at Ubungu Bus Station, November 2000).

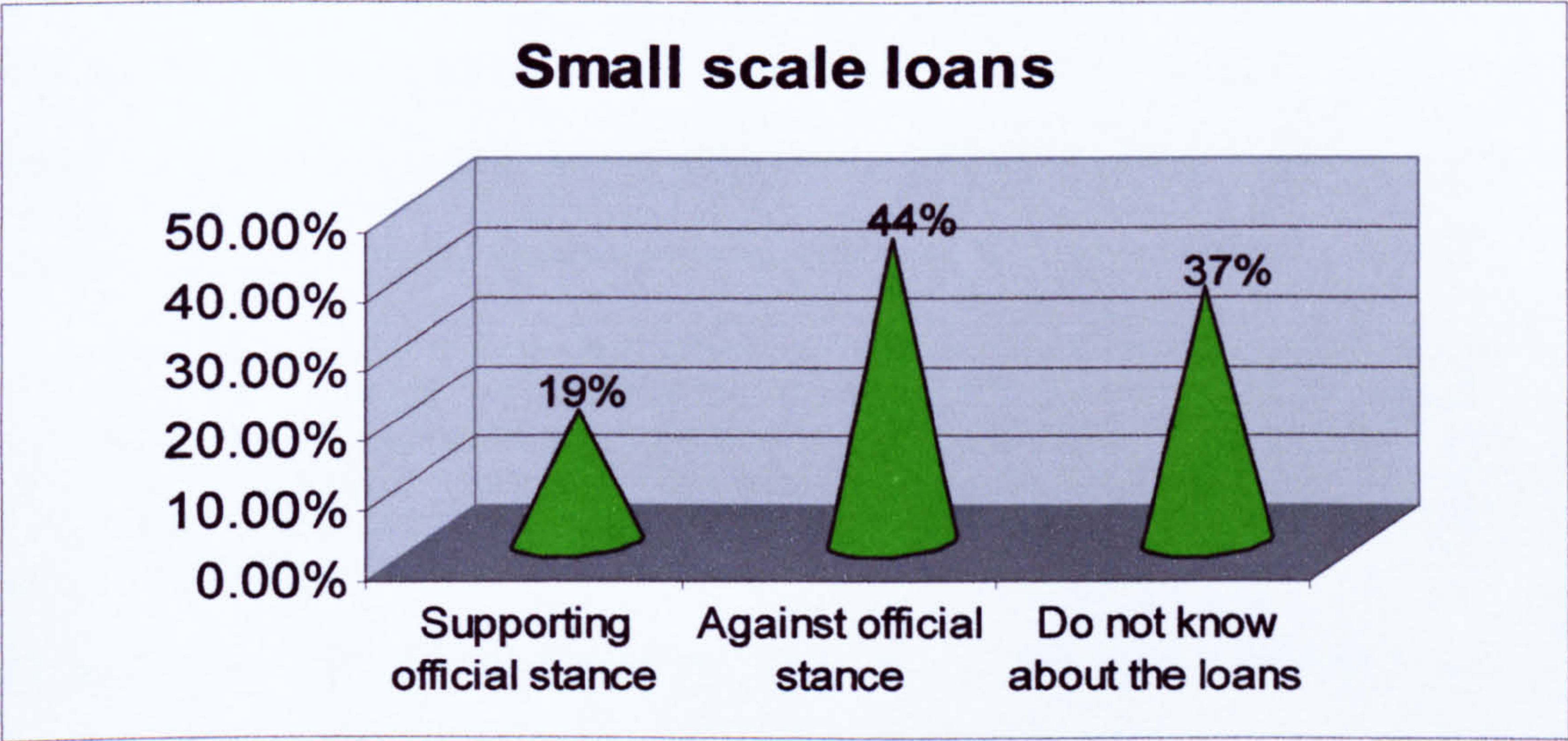
Such stories kept revealing how the authorities were losing their own set target of creating a partnership of development with the urban actors enabling them to see the development process as their own and directly enjoy its fruits.

Asked to what extent they had benefited from the poverty alleviation funds given by the municipal council in the form of small loans, 10 of the 27 electors interviewed did not know about the existence of such loans:

I had no idea that there were funds available. I also believe that in any case I would not qualify because I have no relative or anyone I know well at the municipal council. If the funds are available, I am sure you can get the loan if you are related to one of the officials or have a special friendship with them. If you do not know anyone, like in my case, you will get nothing. It is going to be a good scheme for the local authority because it will give them opportunity to appropriate funds or give loans to themselves (Interview with a Kinondoni resident at Mwenge Bus Station, Sep. 2002).

12 were aware but had a very negative image of the whole process and access to the funds. Only 5 (19%), agreed with the official view about the loans. Although 63% of those interviewed were aware of the loans, most of them, and especially the petty traders, were neither sympathetic to the councillors nor to the municipal officers or heads of departments. Another respondent, one of the 63% that were aware of the funds, said he thought that the funds were not available to the poor but to those who had collateral and was not meant to target the urban poor as the ‘dishonest local authorities’ had presented it. He would not accept the council’s explanation that the standards applied to all residents without discrimination. See the general picture in figure 4.6.

Figure 4.6: Small Scale Loans (Microfinance)



The picture painted by those who were aware of the availability of funds at the municipal council was not good. One of them said:

There is no transparency, thus we do not really know how the funds are distributed. There is very little information at the council and I believe that lots of funds are disappearing into the officials’ pockets instead of going to the poor as was intended (Interview with a Kinondoni resident at Ubungu Bus Station, Sep. 2002).

However, one respondent from a women's development project 'mama ntilie' insisted that she knew none of the officials but had been given the loan and an opportunity to participate in the small business, preparing and serving food to local residents. Apart from her, however, these interviews tell a story of little or no trust by the poor urban dwellers in their local authority's ability to allocate resources efficiently and effectively in Kinondoni municipality. It raises questions about the current approach to development and how sustainable urban development might be achieved when local authorities are perceived as poor managers of resources and without the capacity to formulate adequate strategies for economic prosperity. Indeed, the evidence suggests they do not, and, to that extent, sustainable development is compromised.

With regard to the informal economy and areas designated for small-scale business, most respondents complained in one way or another. 70% of the petty traders and residents interviewed in their homes were not happy with the way Kinondoni municipal officials allocated business areas and questioned the competence of the municipality to distribute resources fairly to the informal operators. Some complained because they had been moved by force from areas where they generated better income and paid less tax. Others complained of systematic favouritism at the council. For example, one said:

I was denied a place to do business at Mwenge bus station, and I know a number of people who came months after me and have been successful due to connections at local government level. I have no connections thus I lost money because I had set up my small business in an area officially approved but the authorities destroyed it together with my goods claiming I did not have the permit to sell things there (Interview with a Kinondoni resident at Ubungu, Sep. 2002).

Although the municipal officials vehemently denied the existence of such practices anywhere in Dar, the respondents' stories were vindicated by reports in the media, which reported forced eviction of petty traders in Kinondoni and in the other areas of Dar. An extreme event took place in January 2004 when a disturbing story was printed in the Tanzanian *Guardian* newspaper and in its internet counterpart where it was reported by Mkundai and Nguvu that there was confusion and looting as the Ilala municipal council carried out its threat to evict petty traders from unauthorised areas.

The much-awaited operation was carried out by a combined force of officers from the Police Field Force Unit (FFU), regular police and auxiliary police who patrolled along streets as early as 5am. Expecting stiff resistance from the petty traders, popularly known as *machinga*, the law enforcers were armed with an assortment of weapons ranging from guns to batons...Hell broke loose in the afternoon when a lorry load of Field Force Unit Officers, regular police and council askaris accompanied by a council bulldozer raided the entire area. Businessmen and women were left agape when they were given a five-minute grace period to remove their properties to allow the bulldozer to raze the kiosks. As the traders shuttled to and fro in desperation, as they tried to salvage as much as they could in the short period, looters had a field day as they mixed in with the anxious traders, making away with whatever they could lay their hands on. The council bulldozer with registration number SM 3937 working under the heavy guard of the law men, made light work of demolishing the kiosks, leaving twisted rubble and despair in its wake. (*The Guardian*, 22 January 2004).

In the chaos many people were injured and lost their kiosks and everything in them. Given five minutes to empty her kiosk fully packed with cosmetics, or see all her capital destroyed, one woman was heard saying: "I am helpless! Let them do what they want. I cannot carry this kiosk on my back" (ibid). The council destroyed the kiosk and its contents just as my respondent had complained. The local authority claimed its intention was not to harass but to relocate the traders, yet the tactics and force employed was evidently not proportionate. The loss of goods and the damaged relations will take a long time to repair. This could have been avoided if the authorities had used persuasion, and incentives as the Vision 2025 stated. Public policy does not always get carried out as intended. The religious leaders and the NGO official expressed sympathy for the petty traders and a sense of deep disappointment with the council's approach.

Asked about the economic growth, participation and involvement in the development process, 63% of the residents interviewed at Kinondoni did not think that there was a *bottom up* approach in the local government's policies. Contrary to the claims of the officials talking about the ongoing reforms, they felt that a *top down* style was more common practice. One argued:

Participation is good, but we are not being consulted. It is the rich people who get asked what they think because they share the fruits of improved economic growth with the officials. We get nothing and we are not involved. We have no money to buy the goods though we are happy to have low quality affordable second hand goods. We have no role in deciding what strategies might be best for Kinondoni's development. Look at the cost of land. It is simply unaffordable for people like me. The government is using land to generate revenue for the benefit of those who had enough education to exploit the land distribution scheme and especially the few who are rich. About reforms, all I know is that licences are now paid at Kinondoni not at the city council. I also suspect that having three money eating government institutions called municipalities will only help to reduce any help that would otherwise target low income people like us (Interview with a Kinondoni resident at Mwenge Bus Station, Sep. 2002).

At the same time 6 of those interviewed 22%, did not know that there were reforms going on while, 56% knew and did not support the reforms and only 22% knew and were supportive. When such important structures as local government are met by deep scepticism and lack of awareness, it is difficult to understand how the local government is hoping to persuade its residents to take part in the development process, let alone to sustain it. The only improvement acknowledged by almost all the respondents was that the main roads in the city were fully serviced and transportation easier. Furthermore 15 of those interviewed (56%), perceived the privatisation process as a means of helping the rich to get richer and the poor even poorer. Most of the rest did not like privatisation as such but were happy that the services were no longer in the hands of inefficient local government authorities. A small group of respondents thought privatisation was the best thing that ever happened in Kinondoni. Most of these had established businesses.

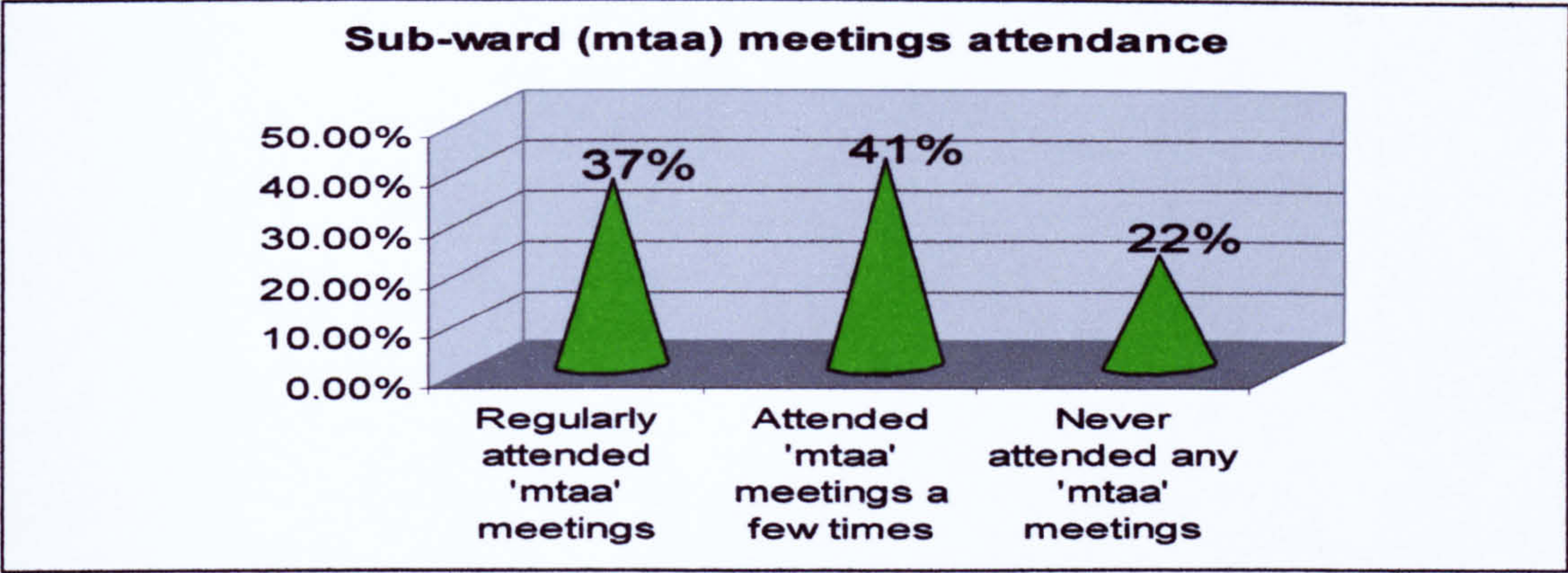
With regard to Multiparty System, political representation, and its role in urban development, 81% of the respondents said that the move to a multi-party system was good, though not all of them could give specific reasons for this assertion. However, only 41% said they were being represented properly while 59% did not support the official view. In general the respondents thought that by challenging the ruling party, the opposition parties will help to increase transparency in the policy formulation and implementation. The respondents from more affluent areas were more satisfied with CCM's performance and, unlike those from the poor areas, they also argued that the service delivery had already improved because the ruling party had worked harder in order to secure its position in the general election and in the process was formulating good policies for sustainable urban development. These findings are similar to Stasavage's observation that, "if the risk of being voted out of office is real, then one can expect democratically elected governments to choose policies that are designed to satisfy an electoral majority" (Stasavage, 2005, p. 56). However as described above, the majority of the interviewees were still not happy with the situation.

The working groups established by the government for consultation have not succeeded in their vision of including a cross section of Kinondoni residents and increased participation in the decision making process. They have instead tended to be occupied by those who have knowledge and confidence of speaking their ideas in public without being intimidated. This is not the domain of the urban poor, the petty traders and fruit vendors who feel alienated from the process of development, and this is a fact the government should have taken into account by initiating working groups that offered incentives for the poor to participate. This finding compares well with Kelsall's observation that there "is the decreasing amount of time people have for political organisation in a context of economic liberalization. People are working long hours, for a number of different reasons" (Kelsall, 2004, p. 70). The challenge and value of raising awareness and persuading local actors to participate in the reforms while trusting the institutions of Kinondoni municipal council must not be underestimated. For example, some respondents at Msewe Golani in Dar es Salaam wanted to know exactly why the local government had spent lots of money in constructing a very weak bridge along the road to the University of Dar es Salaam. One respondent said:

If they had asked us about the stream before they built the bridge, they would not have had to reconstruct the bridge three times within two years. We would have told them that the area behind the bridge had banana trees and sugar canes, which were uprooted by the rain from time to time and would block the drainage channels causing the water to erode the edges of the bridge in a short time. They should have built a high bridge, not one dependent on drainage channels, with the resulting waste of millions of shillings. But they did not ask and we did not ask anyone, they just went ahead and built a useless structure which was crushed when the first heavy rain came (Interview with a Kinondoni resident at Ubungo Msewe, Sep. 2002).

Surely if local participation was as widely taking place as the council officials wanted me to believe, this situation would have been avoided and resources could be saved.

Figure 4.7: Views on Participation in Sub-ward (mtaa) Meetings



Sustainable urban development in Tanzania, and in other nations, demands that urban authorities fully represent their electorate in such a way that the urban poor not only have a voice, but one that is heard, respected and responded to by the relevant authority. However, in Kinondoni as indicated in the figure above, only 10 of the 27 electorate respondents 37% attended sub-ward (mtaa)¹⁵ meetings regularly and would support the official view on representation through this structure, while 22% never attended and did not see value in it. The remaining 41% thought there was no point in contributing to any debate because in the end the municipal council would not listen to the poor. One of them observed:

When we sent our opinion to the local councillor about introducing an open air market at Mwenge a few hundred meters from the bus station, all we were told was that the decisions had been made by experts who thought our suggestion was not viable. We were told this even before the municipal council session had convened (Interview with a Kinondoni resident at Mwenge Bus Station, Sep. 2002).

The majority of the respondents, though, thought that even if the council did not listen, they would not hesitate to speak out given a chance to voice their views. One of them added, “We hope you will publish this so that the government and the municipal authority may know how unhappy we are about all this” (Interview with a Kinondoni resident at Ubungu Bus Station,

¹⁵ ‘Mtaa’ is a Swahili word for sub-ward also for street. In its plural form ‘mitaa’ denotes sub-wards.

September 2002). 59% complained that the municipal authority did not care about what they thought and were neither effective nor accountable. One respondent said:

All I can tell you is that no one really knows what is going on in the council meetings. What is published is only a cover up of the millions of shillings they have put in their pockets. In reality the project's cost less than the amount claimed, and some exist only on paper. This is not just my opinion. Most people I have talked to in this market, think the same way (Interview with a Kinondoni resident at Mwenge Bus Station, Sep. 2002).

His views were corroborated by a number of other respondents. However, a small minority thought the municipal councils were doing well and were publishing the environmental profiles to show how much money they want to spend, where and how.

Religious leaders and NGO officials raised concern about accountability. They seemed to agree with part of what the municipal officials were doing in terms of publishing the reports but agreed with the petty traders that so much more needed to be done. According to Ngware, good governance must follow the "principles of mutual trust and reciprocity, accountability, efficiency, effectiveness and transparency in the promotion and defence of citizen paramount interests for the common good (Ngware, 2000, p.20). In Kinondoni, however, two thirds of those interviewed said that the municipal council was not accountable and was not open to challenge. One respondent made a comparison with his home area which was later confirmed in my research in Iringa when he commented:

I come from Iringa town where the council budget was made known to us residents through the ward committees and general meetings. It is very different here in Kinondoni, there is nothing of the sort. The budget seems to be a big secret. What are they hiding? Ask anyone they will tell you it is because of corruption.

Planning and formulation of social development policy is crucial in achieving the goals of sustainable urban progress. 70%, of the respondents in Kinondoni in Dar thought that the *Central government* in Tanzania was good at planning and policy formulation but was not doing well in implementing its good policies. However, they thought that the *local* government was doing very badly in terms of planning and policy formulation. When asked if they knew that most of the national policies are expected to be implemented by the local government, the

response was, 'no wonder things are not working well!' However, 5 of the respondents thought the municipal planning is good.

Asked about education in Kinondoni, 63% of the respondents did not think that the municipal authorities had put enough emphasis on education. One of them summed up:

The municipal officials are driven by their own personal gain and would not strive to impart liberating knowledge to poor people's children. Why are the schools constantly demanding for money from parents, for desks and new classes that never get constructed? I have four children and each of them had to pay some money every year for new classrooms. The older children have finished their studies without seeing any evidence of how the money was spent. In the last five years, not even one classroom was built. So where did the money go? I have asked these questions to the school authorities and the municipal authority, but had received no satisfactory answers (Interview with a Kinondoni resident at Ubungu, Sep. 2002).

The interesting point here is that education had transformed this respondent's way of life and she looked critically at reality. She wanted fairness and was not happy with the prevailing situation. She was going to do something about it. Most of the urban poor as observed have faced similar problems but might not have the confidence to confront the school and municipal authorities. The evidence indicates that Kinondoni has not yet fully embraced the concept of transformative education and is missing out on this strategy for sustainable development, which calls for improved education standards, relationships among educators and efficiency in delivering this service.

70% of the respondents argued that neither the municipal council nor the Central government had policies to help migrants or improve their employability. Unfortunately, the government admits that, "at present, there is no comprehensive multi-sector policy on human resources development. However, there are fragmented policies in different sectors which touch on issues of human resources development" (The Tanzania Government Report, 2004, p3). Kinondoni also did not have clear strategies for eradicating unemployment despite attempts to work with the private sector to create more jobs.

All but three of my respondents lived in rented accommodation, in their parents' home or with a more well off relative. Most of these complained that:

We live in poor, overcrowded and insecure areas because there is an acute shortage of housing in the city. The landlords have started demanding that we pay them rent six months in advance if we want accommodation (Interview with a Kinondoni resident at Mwenge Bus Station, Sep. 2002).

44% of the interviewees said that the government did not care whether they lived or died, so how could it allocate resources for affordable accommodation?

You see, we do not count much. If you are poor and cannot do much to make the politicians rich, they do not know you. We know that if there was willingness on the part of the municipal council to persuade the Central government to spend money on affordable accommodation, then the acute shortage of shelter would be reversed (Interview with a Kinondoni resident at Ubungu Bus Station, Sep. 2002).

A further 37% also totally rejected the argument that housing shortage is caused by lack of finance, thus a total of 81% rejected the official position. The municipal officials also admitted that there is a huge shortage of shelter, indicating that the respondents were at least in part right. There has been a political failure in terms of administration and long term planning for shelter and service provision.

The need for all local actors to be given a chance to participate fully in the process of sustainability of social economic and general urban development could never be overstated. However, evidence in Kinondoni shows that the urban poor are not only being denied the chance to participate, but also are denied the possibility of survival when they need medical attention. 89% of the respondents agreed that the idea of cost-sharing or cost-recovery, whereby everyone who was ill had to pay a subsidised amount of money to see a doctor or get medication, was hurting the poor. One of them summarised their ideas saying that:

The government has got it all wrong. Healthcare is not their priority at least when it comes to caring for us who have low income. How does the government expect development will take place when many people are suffering at home for prolonged periods without seeing a doctor because they have no money (Interview with a Kinondoni resident at Mwenge Bus Station, Nov. 2000).

A large number of people die of Malaria and AIDS in Tanzania. “Dr Simba also revealed that 80 percent of malaria victims are aged below five in the country and that the nation aims at reducing malaria mortality by 25 percent come 2007” (Chirimi, March 2004). This found resonance in my research at Kinondoni, where almost all the respondents complained about the

cost of healthcare and thought it was so bad that thousands of people died young. One respondent wept during the interview and said:

If the system was better, my brother would still be alive today. We buried him a month ago. He died of malaria. We did not have surplus cash and so when he got ill he would not go to hospital. He thought it was a simple fever and would soon go. But that was not to happen. After three days he got serious and we took him to hospital. That very afternoon he died. The doctors said he came to hospital too late and there was nothing they could do (Interview with a Kinondoni resident at Mwenge, Sep. 2002).

She was not the only one who had lost a loved one to Malaria because of delay in going to hospital. Another respondent told me about his uncle who was still in hospital suffering from a bad combination of Malaria and typhoid:

He was ill at home for more than a week before my aunt took him to hospital. He nearly died and yet we had no choice. When he got so bad, we borrowed money and took him to hospital. He is about sixty-seven now and told us to let him die because we too would die in the process of paying for his treatment. But how could we do that? We took him to hospital anyway. Now he is better but is very worried about the debt. I am worried too, but I will survive, I am still young (Interview with a Kinondoni resident at Ubungu, Nov. 2000).

However, evidence shows that malaria has been a deadly disease mainly for the poor. It is not normally fatal for the more affluent people who do not need to postpone taking medication or have to settle for buying pain killers such as paracetamol instead of getting appropriate medication for malaria.

It was, however, surprising not to find a discussion of HIV-AIDS in the Kinondoni municipality's environmental profile of 2001. Given the massive health and developmental problems caused by AIDS, I expected a significant part of the profile to deal with health and HIV-AIDS. All I found was an explanation about health facilities, but no mention of how AIDS was being dealt with by the municipal council. The responsibility for dealing with this major problem lies with the municipal as well as the National Government. However, the AIDS Control Programme by the Ministry of Health in 1999 did not give any strategy for dealing with AIDS. There were no guidelines, no suggestion of the best way forward, and no clear description of the intensity of the problem and its devastating effect on the society as a whole. However, in 2001 the government set the Multi-Sectoral Strategy for combating HIV-AIDS. The economic impact is in the form of loss of an effective labour force leading to reduced

productivity and dependence on others, thus putting pressure on the social fabric of entire communities. It also includes the cost of caring for the victims by the family and the medical staff, as well as for medication that is rather too expensive. In addition, the number of orphans has grown rapidly in the last decade as young parents perish with HIV-AIDS and elderly grandparents have to look after whole families. Sometimes, grandparents are unable to do so. Other relatives have to bring the children up. For urban poor families the burden is often too heavy to bear.

One of the managers of UMATI, an NGO dealing with reproductive health, said that:

The government has not given education to the nation on the fact that AIDS was spread mainly through sexual contact and how this should be prevented. There was a serious need for openness, among partners and within families as well as in various communities. This has not yet been incorporated into the government's strategy for combating the pandemic. Also, the protection that 'victims' need and the counselling support that individuals and communities need, has not been given its due importance by the government at both local and national level. He added that even the top government officials had not put adequate effort into finding a comprehensive approach for defeating HIV-AIDS (Interview with UMATI official, Sep. 2002).

One of the most damaging things in the campaign against AIDS is the culture of secrecy, which is prevalent within the society in Tanzania. Some of the respondents told me that they knew people who had AIDS but members of the victim's family did not know because he would not tell them. He was afraid of the stigma and possible condemnation by the family and other people if they knew. Another respondent was in the same situation but in his case the victim was his own brother. He said:

My brother would not even want his children to be screened despite the fact that their mother had died of AIDS soon after they were born. I wanted to find help for the children, but my brother did not want any member of the family to be told. After some time my son started to develop a large number of boils similar to those my brother's children had. I took my son to be tested and he was found to be HIV positive. Only then did my brother accept to talk about his own condition of living with HIV-AIDS. My boy was sharing needles with his cousin to remove each other's thorns while playing in the bush near our home. My son was also helping his cousin to squeeze the boils when he had a sore on his palm. I tested negative and so is my wife, but I still think that my brother's silence is responsible for the infection of my son. In fact he has killed my boy (Interview with a Kinondoni resident at Mwenge, Nov. 2000).

He was very angry. I cannot help thinking that the silence was not only detrimental and fatal to the one they helped to infect with HIV-AIDS but also to the respondent's brother who had to

live with the knowledge that he was responsible for the death of his nephew. If the respondent had known early, he would have been more careful and could have protected his son. Silence in this case has been fatal, and is an example of the way in which many more people will be infected with AIDS unless governments formulate comprehensive policies for dealing with it.

81% of the respondents complained that they had no water and had to spend hours trying to find it instead of engaging in economically productive activities. They also said that they had to buy water at high cost while the rich had a constant supply of water. Most of the respondents from the more well off areas had no complaints. In 2004, the executive director of HABITAT, Anna Tibaijuka, observed that “Dar es Salaam was one of the cities in the “absurd situation” where the wealthy people were connected to the water system but the poor were having to buy water from vendors at a higher rate” (UN Integrated Regional Information Networks, Feb. 2004). One respondent argued:

If the government was serious about alleviating poverty, it would have repaired all the broken pipes that were meant to supply water to the poor areas of the city. I know many areas where water is wasted for the benefit of the rich. If there were constant water supply, those businessmen who are selling water to the street vendors would lose out. Everyone knows that there is a shortage of water in Kinondoni but it is us who have low income that suffers most. The leaders do not really care. They are only concerned about how much money they can grab for themselves to fill their bellies than in finding a solution to our development problems (Interview with a Kinondoni resident at Mwenge, Nov. 2000).

For most of the respondents, it was clear that the authorities were neither interested, nor had the capacity to change the situation because they are incompetent. Lack of funds and other problems were understandable as well, but, as Kelsall et al observed, it is the problem of leadership that was prominent. “But a recurring theme to all of the reasons is the question of leadership: negligence, self interest, laziness, etc” (Kelsall et al, 2005, pg. 23). Either way this failure has the result of making the city strategy for sustainable development ineffective, and is a definite betrayal of trust for the urban poor.

Conclusions

This chapter has established that Kinondoni municipal council has a high potential to achieve sustainable development having many advantages linked to its geographical location in

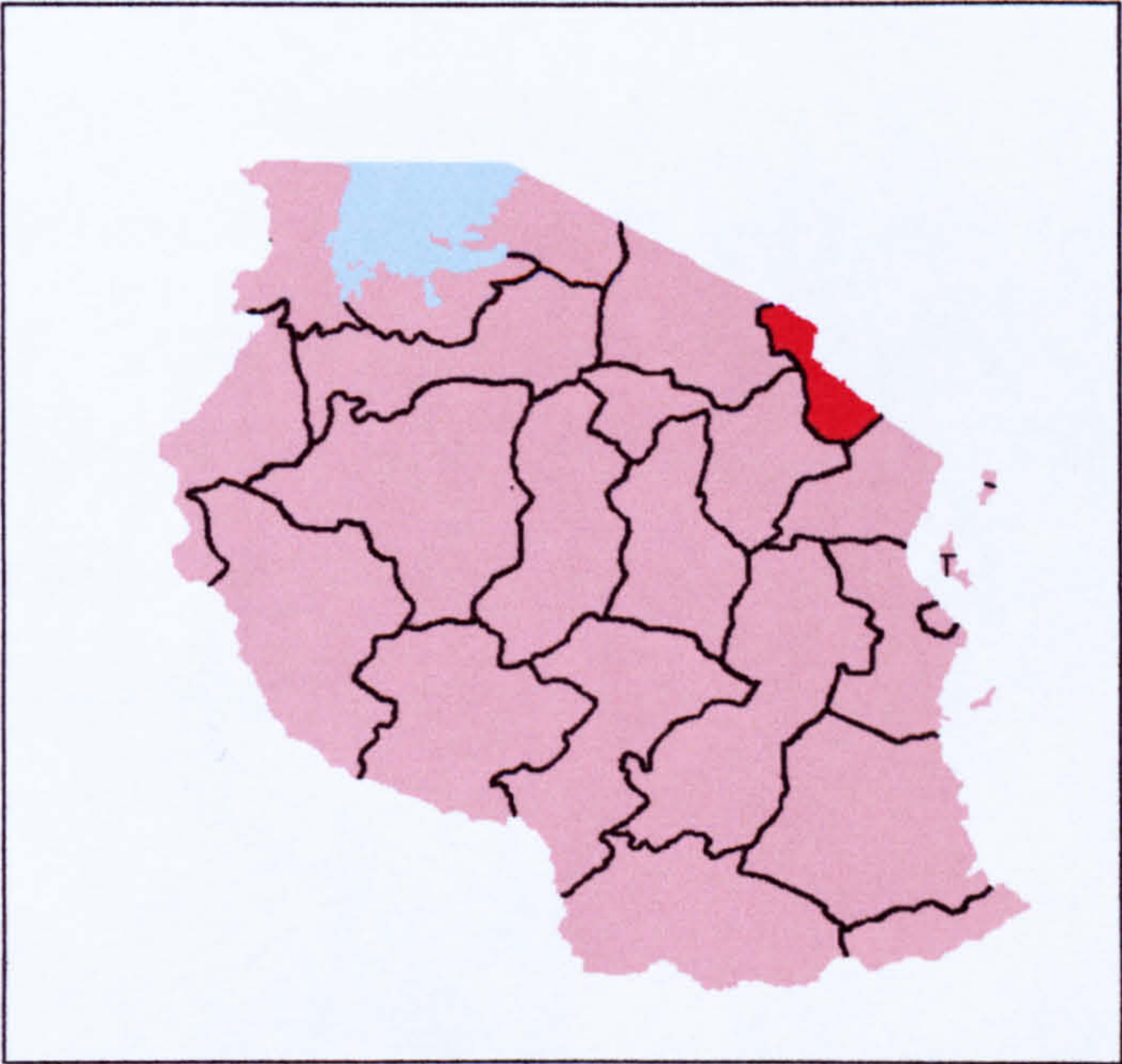
the city of Dar es Salaam with its economy of scale. It has a high concentration of health facilities, education centres, transport, industry and business. It produced a very good mission statement indicating its determination to follow the stipulations of the Vision 2025 and the LGRP and other development policies, in the eradication of poverty, empowering local communities and improving the quality of life of its population. It has formulated policies and has a number of development projects to support its mission to achieve sustainable development. The development task is being undertaken by the various social, political and economic institutions. The officials' interactions have been shown to have problems, and the efforts made so far do not seem to have met the people's expectations. The official view of the process seems to be very far from those of the residents, many of whom seem to be apathetic and do not want to take part in the process of development as led by the council. Though they admit more needs to be done, Kinonondoni's officials claim the municipality is doing well in attempting to reach the goals set out in its development policy in relation to education, healthcare, transportation, water provision and other areas. However, their view is seriously contested by the urban poor who argue that the local authority has not managed to bring the benefits associated with its economic growth to them. The residents' claim that the municipal officials are corrupt, favour their friends and do not represent them properly, and yet they still keep voting for the ruling party CCM. This is probably indicative of the patronage system where most people complain about the ruling party but also do not want to be on the losing side, lest they miss out completely on the ensuing favours. Participation in the development process by the urban poor has not increased, their needs and aspirations have been neglected and they are being harassed by the authority. This has meant that policies upon which long term development depends have been formulated without the full participation of the majority of Kinondoni residents and fall far short of its aim of achieving sustainable development.

Chapter 5. Sustainable Urban Development in Moshi

5.1 Historical Background and Social-Economic Profile

The establishment and growth of Moshi as an urban area is closely linked to Tanzania’s colonial and post independence history. The colonial government tendency to centralize power pushed the local chieftains together and according to Samoff, “Moshi town itself was a manifestation of the centralizing impact of colonial rule” (Samoff, 1974, p.17). Now Moshi Urban is one of the medium sized urban centres in Tanzania that has been growing steadily and was given the status of municipal council in 1988 (Mboya, et al. 1999, p.4). “Moshi town forms part of Moshi District that constitutes Moshi municipal council and Moshi District Council. Moshi is an attractive town and is the tourist, administrative and commercial centre of Kilimanjaro Region” (Mboya et al. 1999, p.1). Kilimanjaro is one of the smallest and most densely populated regions in Tanzania, “located to the North East of the country, it is bordered by Kenya to the North and East, Arusha Region to the West and Tanga Region to the South” (Mboya et al. 1999, p.1). Figure 5.0 below shows Moshi within Kilimanjaro Region.

Figure 5.0: Kilimanjaro Region in the Map of Tanzania



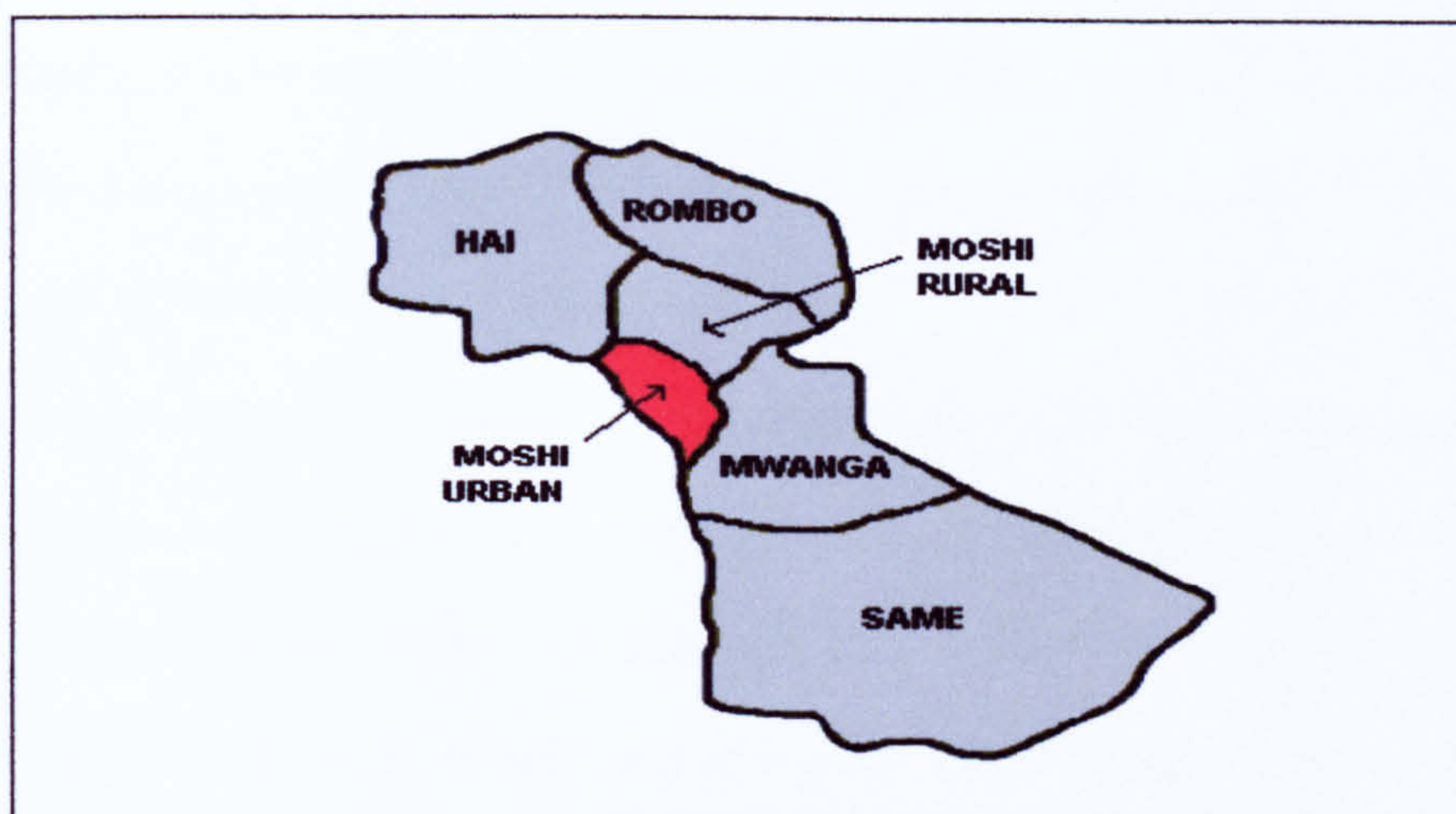
Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kilimanjaro_Region, 3 February 2007.

Moshi was established in 1892 as a military camp at Kolila, now known as Old Moshi division of Moshi Rural District Council after the local Chief who was defeated in a major battle of resistance (Samoff, 1974, p.17, Mboya et al, 1999, p.4). However, according to Samoff, the Germans were convinced by Chief Marealle that he was the most powerful Chagga Chief and so they located their capital in his area at Marangu:

Moshi town, on its present site did not develop until the German Tanga railway line was extended from Mombo to Kilimanjaro in 1911; apparently engineering considerations dictated the location of the railway terminus, some distance down the hillside from the capital of the traditional Moshi chiefdom. The railway terminus quickly became the central collecting point for the transport of coffee, and Moshi Town became the administrative headquarters of the district for both the German and the British colonial Administration (Samoff, 1974, p. 17).

The British made Moshi a Township Authority in 1926. The political rulers perceived Moshi as a potentially important town from which the provincial commissioner carried out his orders from the Governor of Tanganyika. Moshi's population grew slowly until the 1950s and thus it was not until 1956 that it attained the status of a Town Council. During the decentralisation of government administration which has taken place since 1972, Moshi was chosen by the government to be one of the nation's growth poles. This took place after adopting the 2nd Five Year Development Plan (1969-1974) aimed at fostering economic growth in different parts of the country. "Following the development plan, the government selected nine growth poles, Moshi included, as centres of future concentration of population and industry to counter the primacy of Dar-Es-Salaam and maximize development impact on rural areas" (Mboya et al, 1999, p.9). The government perceived Moshi's developmental potential and supported it by sponsoring the construction of a coffee curing industry to process the coffee produced within the Region. In 1971 Kilimanjaro International Airport was built near the town.

Figure 5.1: A Map of Kilimanjaro Region Showing Moshi Urban



Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kilimanjaro_Region, 3 February 2007.

According to Mboya et al, the current growth of Moshi has not moved far from the 1930s British plan of a low density area for the more affluent British settlers. The first Moshi Town plan after independence was prepared in 1962. However it was in 1968 that a detailed land use plan was prepared by the Ministry of Lands. The ministry drew the first Master plan for Moshi in 1974 following the 2nd Five Year Development Plan which ran from 1969 to 1974. The master plan was reviewed in 1994, indicating a failure to renew it every five years as planned.

Moshi's economic strategy aims to promote all economic activity in the municipality and increase the residents' income, thus in turn increasing its own potential for revenue generation. There is a wide range of economic activity providing opportunities through which the residents earn their means of living. "The economy of Moshi overall depends on commerce, industry and tourism, as well as on agriculture. Its economy is supported by good access to other towns in the country and abroad by road and rail, and through Kilimanjaro International Airport (KIA)" (Sustainable Moshi Project (SMP), 2001, p.8). Moshi has modern communication facilities including the Internet and telecommunication. Most of the town's economic activities have been related to servicing the surrounding rich hinterland and processing agricultural products. "The municipality has a wide range of industries dealing with coffee curing, match production, pharmaceuticals, beverages and foodstuffs" (SMP, 2001, p.8). Nevertheless Moshi has a high

percentage of unemployment. "It is estimated that only 50-60% of the productive age group are gainfully employed. The majority of the gainfully employed are self-employed in small-scale commercial and industrial activities as well as the public sector (Mboya at al, 1999, p.10). In the national census of 2002, Moshi had 144,336 residents.

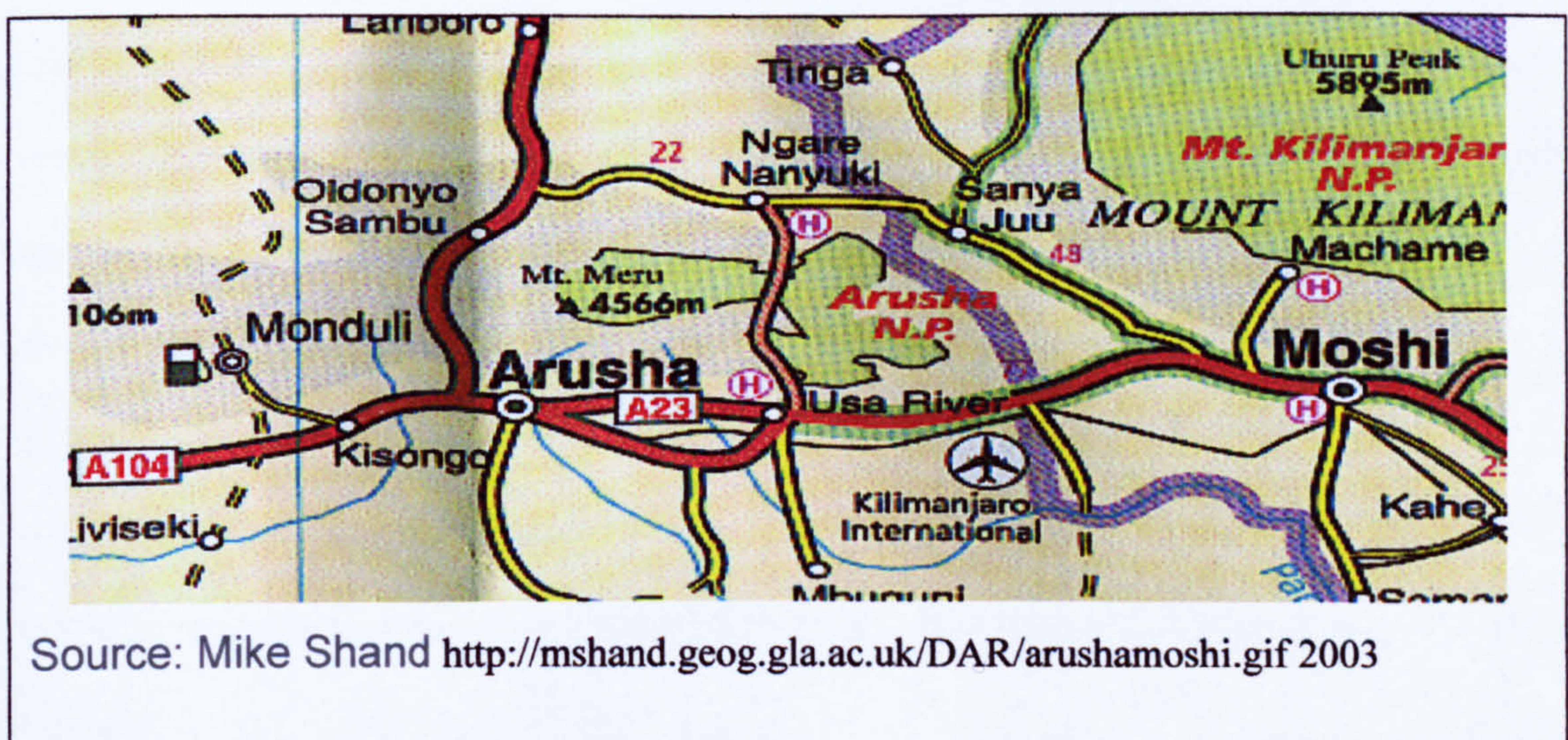
Being near the border with Kenya has given Moshi a number of business opportunities. For example, when the coffee market was not very profitable in Tanzania in the late 1970s and early 1980s many entrepreneurs evaded the Tanzania Coffee Co-operative and sold their coffee directly to Kenya. And, more recently with the trade liberalisation, many traders have been importing goods from Kenya. For example, half of the petty traders interviewed in Moshi said that they had, at least once, sold goods imported from Kenya. Moshi has had one of the most powerful cooperative unions in the country, largely because of its coffee production that has been one of Tanzania's major export crops. Indeed "The Kilimanjaro Native Planters' Association and later the Kilimanjaro Native Cooperative Union provided the first, and for a time the only, mountain-wide forum for the discussion of Chagga problems and interests" (Samoff, 1974, p.19). Moshi's affluent entrepreneurs who benefited from the export and co-operatives have helped to create social networks with the Central government and to raise its status by winning investment in development projects. According to Gilchrist, "Networks allow complex systems to respond flexibly and innovatively to changes in the prevailing conditions" (Gilchrist, 2000, p.150). Most of the ruling groups in Moshi are Chagga people with well-established local networks among themselves, with the business community and with the Central government. Moshi has had many of its residents working previously in the ministries in Dar and, as such, the local networks are seen as having been extended to the Central government. Moshi's entrepreneurs are seen at work in all major urban areas in Tanzania and have created their own networks that have raised the town's status by increasing its linkages with political and governmental institutions throughout. However, the advantages of high status have not been felt by the urban poor, and I found a big contrast between their views and those of

the local government officials with regard to the status of Moshi. In the study, the poor respondents felt that local leaders should get more support out of Central government. Although, given the amount of investment made, there is hardly much more they could do in reality. Generally, for a long time, there has been a perception in Central government that the north was already more developed than the rest of the country. Thus it would be hard for Moshi to gain more support.

Furthermore, the municipality of Moshi is the nearest town to Mount Kilimanjaro and gains advantage from hosting tourists. Its altitude also gives Moshi another advantage directly linked with its location. According to the Sustainable Moshi Project Report, because of its relatively high altitude, Moshi has a moderate climate. No severe droughts or serious floods have been recorded in recent times (Sustainable Moshi Project Document, 2001, p.7). It has a very significant agricultural hinterland with adequate rain suitable for coffee production.

As indicated in Figure 5.2 below, Moshi has a good transportation network by road to Arusha in the northwest and Tanga and Dar in the southwest. It is connected with the Tanga and Dar railway line, which reached Moshi for the first time in 1911 (Tanzania Railway Network, 2002). Finally, Kilimanjaro Airport is near the town as indicated in the map. All these have increased the status of Moshi in the hierarchy of urban areas in Tanzania.

Figure 5.2: Map of Moshi-Arusha Area-Transport Network



Moshi has been perceived by Central government as one of the most important urban centres in Tanzania's process of development and advancement towards the goal of sustainability. That is why it was included in the first attempt to replicate the Sustainable Dar es Salaam Project. This perception gives Moshi high status as one of the top ten urban centres in the country. Many of the traders interviewed did not think that Moshi's status gave much advantage, because they believed most of the investment had gone to Arusha, which has many modern hotels and the largest conference centre in East Africa.

Moshi, like other urban areas, has experienced dramatic changes since trade liberalisation was introduced in the mid 1980s. A Chagga businesswoman stated recently that; "We have changed from the years of socialism to a different era now" (The BBC News, 10th December 2004). The new era is one of great uncertainty for the urban poor and one of great advantage for the middle income groups and the ruling group having formed strong connections and networks with each other. What is new is the fact that women now own many emerging businesses. Bujra argued that, in articulating social relations of production and distribution, women have to be included in the analysis (Bujra et al, 2004, p.565), even though they are latecomers and are mostly working in the informal economy.

There are many tensions between the petty traders and the middle income groups which will be explored in the following sections. Tensions between the groups in revenue generation could be reduced if the government improved the local base and simplified the tax structure. For Manche, this process involves "improving local revenue sources, but also strengthening the planning and management capabilities of local government officials and making budgetary reforms" (Manche et al. 2001, p.2). In Moshi, however, most of the revenue needed for the functioning of the urban authority comes from Central government. For example, in its 2001/2002 budget, the municipality expected to collect about 66% of its budget from the Central government and therefore it would have to be spent according to the choices of Central government.

5.2 Governance, Institutions, Resource Flow and Development Projects

5.2.1 Good Governance and Accountability

Local government reform has been closely associated with sustainable development and the demand for environmental profiles to act as a basis for improving performance and economic progress in urban centres. In its 1999 environmental profile, created in response to the National Environmental Policy (NEP) and the Local Government Reform Programme (LGRP), Moshi Municipal council stated its objectives as follows:

Enhanced capacity of the Council to plan and manage the use of environmental resources in collaboration with other stakeholders in the public, popular and private sectors; Increased willingness of the public, private and popular sectors to forge effective partnerships with the Council to address priority environmental issues; Increased awareness among the Moshi community about their rights and responsibilities in the planning and management of their neighbourhoods and environmental resources (Mboya et al, 1999, p. VIII).

These ambitious goals state the mission of the municipal council, and outline what would be expected both from the Council and from the people it governs. It is clear, though, that the focus has been on the relationship between the governors and the governed especially with regard to revenue. This mission statement was reinforced by the 2002 budget and development plan which stated it aimed at building and strengthening the trust of the people in their government:

Makisio ya mapato na matumizi na mpango wa maendeleo kwa mwaka 2002 una lengo madhubuti la kujenga na kuimarisha imani ya wananchi kwa Serikali yao. Azima hii imetekelezwa kwa kuelekeza matumizi kwenye huduma kwa wananchi ambapo lengo kubwa ni kuhamasisha uhiari wa kulipa kodi ya maendeleo kwa msingi wa kuchangia miradi ya maendeleo (Halmashauri ya Manispaa Moshi, 2002, p.6).

The estimate of income and expenditure and development plan for the year 2002 is strongly aiming at building and strengthening the trust of the people in their government. This intention has been implemented by directing the expenditure towards the community services whereby the main aim is to motivate willingness of residents to pay their development tax on the basis of contributing to development projects (Moshi municipal council Report, 2002 p.6)(Unofficial translation by the author of this thesis).

Although this was done as intended by the development Vision 2025, the effectiveness of its environmental profile and planning has been contested by some officials and most of the electorate interviewees, as will be discussed later in this chapter. But it is clear that the council rightly argues that, “increased stakeholder participation is likely to increase willingness and a sense of ownership” (Sustainable Moshi Project Document, 2001, p. 25). Unfortunately

willingness in the documents refers to payment or non-payment of tax rather than with the general effort to increase involvement in the whole exercise of the development process which is essential for good governance. Good governance exists when all the local actors including the urban poor, the municipal council, private and public service providers, civil servants NGOs, charities as well as religious organisations are involved. As such, one of the crucial principles of good governance is the effective management of the development process from the moment of consultation, through to the formulation of policies to implementation. Moshi has had some governance problems and challenges as its environmental profile indicated that the priorities set by standing committees that gather ideas from residents were ignored:

Decisions of all Committees must be ratified by the Full Council which is a policy- making body composed of all councillors, and which is advised by Municipal Management Team. Usually this is not adhered to, as a result council decisions do not reflect priority issues of the stakeholders (Mboya et al, 1999, p. 75).

Good governance must apply principles of accountability, representation and participation, and has to incorporate the ability to apply these principles in the local situation in such a way that is meaningful and beneficial to the people for whom sustainable development is intended. Good governance is concerned with sustaining urban development, reducing poverty and increasing the quality of life for the urban poor as well as other urban actors in order to enhance the local political system.

Indeed “the process to achieve sustainable urban development demands respect for basic human rights and advocates popular participation through improved democracy and good governance at all levels” (Sustainable Moshi Project Document, 2001, p.23). Furthermore, people must be helped to understand both their rights and their responsibilities so that they know exactly what they need to do in order to foster sustainable urban development. According to Ngware, “Democratic urban governance in our towns and cities is possible and achievable but will only be realized if accountable and democratically managed urban authorities are developed” (Ngware, 2000, p.20). Good governance, should incorporate a true partnership of

development between central and local government, and encourage a critical analysis, which involves local actors in offering their ideas for development as part of the reform agenda.

Accountability is one of the most significant ingredients of good governance and effective working of the local system of government and political organisation. For the Moshi municipal council to be considered accountable, it has to explain to its residents how it is managing resources and what impact its activities have had, and are expected to have, on the urban communities.

One of the challenges of governing Moshi is its rapid growth in urban population. Moshi’s population has been growing steadily since the colonial authority made it their Northern Province headquarters. “Moshi has grown from a small urban area of 8,048 residents in 1948” (Samoff, 1974, p. 17, Sustainable Moshi Project Document, 2001, p.7) to a large town with a total of 96,838 residents in 1988 national census (Bureau of Statistics, 1988, p.52). By the year 2002 the population had grown to 144,336 residents (TNW, 2004) as in table 4.1 below.

Table 4.1. Population Growth of Moshi

Actual Population From the Censuses					Annual Growth Rate	
Region	1967	1978	1988	2002	1978-1988	1988-2002
Total, Tanzania	12,313,469	17,512,610	23,095,878	34,569,232	2.8%	2.9%
Moshi	26, 969	52, 223	96,838	144,336	8.54%	3.50%

Source: 1.Sustainable Moshi Project Document, *The Sustainable Moshi Programme* (DANIDA Support Project), 2001, p.7
2. Tanzania National Website, (TNW) *The 2002 National Census*, <http://www.tanzania.go.tz/kilimanjaro.htm> (2004).

Looking at the figures in the table it is clear that the growth rate has slowed down from 8.54% between 1978 and 1988 to 3.50% between 1988 and 2002. The growth rate is quite high.

Sometimes, in unofficial accounts and documents, officials appear to add an additional 40,000 people to Moshi’s population. When questioned on this they explained that Moshi has an urban population that is counted in official statistics as rural because many people

spend their nights in the rural areas having worked for the day in the town. This phenomenon existed already as early as 1974:

The relationship of Moshi to its rural hinterland is perhaps much closer than is the case for other towns of similar size in Tanzania. The major cash crop is grown on the hillsides and eventually collected in the town. It is common for people to come to town to work, to shop, to transact business, and then return to the hillsides each evening (Samoff, 1974, p.17).

The implication of this is that the demand on the limited municipal resources is growing fast because of rapid urbanisation. It also means that the best way to satisfy it would be to increase economic growth and resource availability at a higher rate than the rate of population growth and in that way expand the ability to cater for the needs of the day residents. This will be considered further in the section discussing resource flow but first we need an evaluation of the institutions dealing with this challenge in Moshi.

5.2.2 Institutional Structures

In order to govern effectively and to monitor the development process, the municipality has been divided into smaller units in accordance with the directives of the local government reform document. First there are two divisions, namely, Moshi West and Moshi East. Second:

The divisions are subdivided into 15 smaller administrative units called wards. The wards are namely: Bondeni, Kaloleni, Karanga, Kiborloni, Kilimanjaro, Kiusa, Korongo, Majengo, Mji Mpya, Msaranga, Njoro, Pasua and Rau...The wards are further subdivided into 42 sub wards (mitaa) for efficient management. The Council has already resolved to create six additional wards by subdividing Karanga, Korongoni, Majengo, Pasua and Rau wards (Mboya et al, 1999, p. 5).

These administrative structures are of great importance in monitoring the process of development and governance and crucially in setting out the context in which local actors can participate in it. That is why it is important for the institutions using these structures to improve efficiency because even with good structural change, if the institutions do not manage them effectively, sustainable development will be hard to achieve.

In the same way that other Tanzanian towns are governed, the institution governing Moshi Urban is the municipal council. According to Samoff's observations in 1969 "The Moshi Town Council is a largely representative body" (Samoff, 1974, p88) and this is still the case to date. Between 1994 and 2000, Moshi municipal council was comprised of 14 elected (CCM)

councillors, 1 elected (CHADEMA) councillor, 4 nominated women councillors and the Member of Parliament who belongs to the opposition National Convention for Construction and Reform (NCCR Mageuzi) making a total of 20. “The nominated councillors especially represented the female population in a deliberate bid to improve gender balance in the policy-making body. According to the existing legislation they represent 25% of the seats won by the respective party” (Mboya et al, 1999, p. 5). In the year 2000 the composition remained the same with 10 new and 4 re-elected CCM councillors. The people had clearly exercised their electoral rights effectively as, although they belonged to CCM, about 70% of the councillors were new:

During the first Full Council meeting soon after the elections, councillors elect amongst themselves the Mayor, Deputy Mayor, Committee Chairpersons and Committee Members. Whereas the Mayor holds office for five years the other office bearers are elected annually though eligible for re-election (Mboya et al, 1999, p. 5).

According to the Moshi environmental profile, to ensure better governance, the municipal council activities are carried out by seven standing committees. These are finance and administration, urban planning, public health and social welfare, education and culture, works, trade and economic affairs and human resources deployment. However, the daily administration of the council is the responsibility of the municipal Director who receives reports from nine departments that also report to the respective committees. These are; personnel and administration, finance, lands and natural resources, education, public health, works, trade and economic affairs, community development and the cooperative development department (Mboya et al, 1999, p.65-66).

The institution at the centre of the development process of the municipality is the Development Committee which starts at the sub-ward level and is to meet every month:

The sub-ward chairpersons are members of the Ward Development Committee (WDC) which is supposed to meet monthly to deliberate on the implementation of council policies and development plans. Ideally recommendations and issues deliberated at ward level are referred to the respective council standing committees. Each committee executes its activities according to the laws, rules and regulations governing the respective disciplines. Decisions of all committees must be ratified by the Full Council which is a policy-making body composed of all councillors and which is advised by Municipal Management Team. Usually these are not adhered to, as a result council decisions do not reflect priority issues of the stakeholders (Mboya et al, 1999, p. 75).

There is a hint of conflict between those in committees and the full council. If this conflict is not examined and a balance established so that decisions of the committees follow a fair hearing, and are not simply rubber stamped, there could be negative implications for sustainable development. Otherwise Moshi will be conducting its affairs just as Samoff observed in the 1970s when he reported that “Committee decisions are usually approved with little or no discussion by the Full Council” (Samoff, 1974, p. 88).

An example of social service institutions is that of healthcare. In Moshi municipality , “both curative and preventive health services are intended to further and enhance the health of urban residents for their effective participation in social-economic development” (Mboya et al, 1999, p.39). To provide health care in Moshi, the Kilimanjaro Christian Medical Centre (KCMC), the third largest hospital in the country, has been a referral hospital serving the northeast part of the country. It has the capacity of 360 beds, while the government owned Mawenzi hospital has the capacity of 60 beds only, and the privately owned Siima hospital has the capacity of 30 beds. In Moshi town, there are two health centres, 62 dispensaries and more than 17 pharmacies privately owned (Mboya et al, 1999, p.39).

Other important institutions for sustainable development are the working groups which are meant to give an opportunity to the local communities to take part in prioritising and raising the awareness of the government about the local needs. In its sustainable development project document, the Moshi municipal council argued the case for a bottom up approach to sustainability and for improved relations in the project:

All municipal stakeholders will be involved by representation to reinforce the existing effective partnership with the Council throughout the process (Sustainable Moshi Project Document, 2001, p. 19).

According to this document, representation has the purpose of consolidating Moshi, not only as the centre of economic growth and development for its hinterland, but also, as a centre of social transformation that increases residents’ well-being and quality of life.

To do this Moshi municipality, being one of the urban areas that were given the opportunity to take part in the Environmental Planning and Management (EPM) programme for sustainable development, establishing working groups in 1999 which, after a four day consultation process, any interested resident could join. In forming the working groups the municipality invited all residents to volunteer and register at their wards. Moshi municipal council sustainable project document indicated that:

The mandate derived from the consultation, their broad-based stakeholder membership, and the open and participatory nature of their activities; give the Working Groups a high degree of legitimacy. When properly co-ordinated and integrated with the local Council, this can build a decision-making process which is genuinely popular and supported by civil society (Sustainable Moshi Project Document, 2001, p.3).

This noble aim of involving the low income as well as the wealthier groups is to be commended. However, whether it worked and is seen as truly participatory and giving a chance to the poor to take part in the development process from conception of policy to problem identification will be discussed further in the sections examining the official view and well as the views of the electorate concerning the development process.

Political parties also form a significant part of institutions in Moshi municipality. The formation and growth of multiple political parties is thought to have had a positive impact in bringing awareness to the urban population. They have enabled many urban residents to make well-informed choices during election campaigns and make the parties accountable at the ballot box. In Moshi, there has been a long tradition of opposition during the establishment of the one party state, and, when pluralism was reintroduced, it was among the first places that elected opposition MPs. However, notwithstanding that, the opposition parties still seem to be too weak as yet to give any significant challenge to the ruling party CCM.

5.2.3 Resource Flow

Resource availability and effective distribution is an essential part of sustainable development. Like most urban councils in Tanzania, Moshi has been heavily dependent on the Central government for resources to run its day to day functions and to provide its services. In

its 2001/2002 budget, Moshi municipal council expected about 1.5 billion Tanzanian shillings (TShs) of grant from the Central government out of its total budget of 2.3 billion shillings (Halmashauri ya Manispaa ya Moshi, 2002, p.2-3), which is about 66% of the budget. The amount from the Central government is equivalent to 1,039 shillings per capita, making it just 54 shillings less than that of Kinondoni. This is a substantial amount of grant. At the time of this study Moshi expected to reduce this dependency on Central government and to increase its own funds in the following year.

Improvement of tax collection methods and taxation systems is necessary for local authorities in order to reduce dependency on the Central government and to generate funds sufficient for service provision without alienating local actors. However, this has not been the case in Moshi where the local government has on many occasions used force to increase its revenue collection. Included among the taxes to be collected are business licences, land rent charges, market and trade taxes and hotel and entertainment levies as stipulated in the local government finance act of 2000, No.6 (Local government laws, 2000, pp. 2006-2008). This is similar to what Fjeldstad had observed in Kilosa where he argued that, "Collection is facilitated through extortive and violent approaches that are mainly advocated and implemented by council administrators, with minimum support from local politicians" (Fjeldstad, 2001, p.299).

Moshi, like most other urban areas, needs to improve efficiency in resource allocation and in the process of formulating development policies if it is to move towards sustainability of its progress. However, "the municipality is plagued with institutional problems in urban management of resources" (Mboya et al, 1999, p.15). As such, reforms are needed to change the institutions and give them the edge they need to allocate resources in the most efficient way possible. Improving the well being of all Moshi residents by creating an environment conducive for investment and cooperation among the local actors would help in poverty alleviation, reduce tension between different income groups and increase the rate of advance towards sustainable development. The task of improving the well-being of the municipality and co-ordinating

policy formulation and implementation to this effect has been given to the community development department. The department has also been entrusted with funds for small scale loans to be distributed to targeted low income groups. The department made an evaluation in 2002 of many groups and in the end they selected a total of 87 to be given loans as indicated in the report prepared by the head of the department. "In that evaluation, we found a total of 44 groups for women and 43 groups for the youth, which were later given the loans" (Elia, 2002, p.2). The value of these loans within the cultural constraints and the long term benefit to the communities concerned is yet to be established.

The informal economy, by virtue of what it is, does not provide much resource to the council in terms of taxation. However it has been providing vital services to the low income groups, thus enhancing development. Moshi has one of the largest groups of people involved in the informal economy. "Following the introduction of the market economy, petty retail trading has mushroomed in various neighbourhoods in response to service demands by residential and industrial areas" (Sustainable Moshi Project Document, 2001, p. 11). Most of the people involved in the informal economy in Moshi are women, of all ages. The council officials believed that women were in a worse position than men within the informal sector. They formed a lower subgroup within that of the poor, whose survival depends on the lowly paid informal economy. For this reason the municipal council, with the help of Danish International Development Assistance (DANIDA), made a choice to support women's groups. The council argued, "With their unequal status in terms of education, rights, power, access to resources etc. urban poverty strikes women much harder than men and more especially for women who are obliged to take responsibility as heads of households" (SMP, 2001, p. 21). Furthermore, the municipality made it part of its development projects to encourage the poor to form associations and groups through which they can present their needs, aspirations and make their voice heard. The council wanted to make the process of decision-making transparent so that the poor could be involved in all stages from policy formulation to implementation. Community

based services and activities that would help the poor build capacity were to be introduced. These aims became more important in 2000 when DANIDA started assisting in the process of sustaining Moshi's development project and promoting labour intensive technologies using local resources to improve employment of the marginalised poor. Therefore, apart from the funds allocated by the community development ministry for women and youth micro-finance loans, some NGOs "have been established to provide credit facilities and skills to the unemployed youth. The NGOs enable the youth to establish small-scale businesses in the informal sector" (Mboya et al. 1999, p.11) and thus to lift themselves from extreme forms of poverty. These were to be allocated areas for their business. As mentioned above, though it is generally believed that the microfinance loans are helpful to the urban poor, the methods of adapting them to the social cultural setting of Moshi and Tanzania in general have yet to be revealed and analysed.

5. 2.4 Development Projects

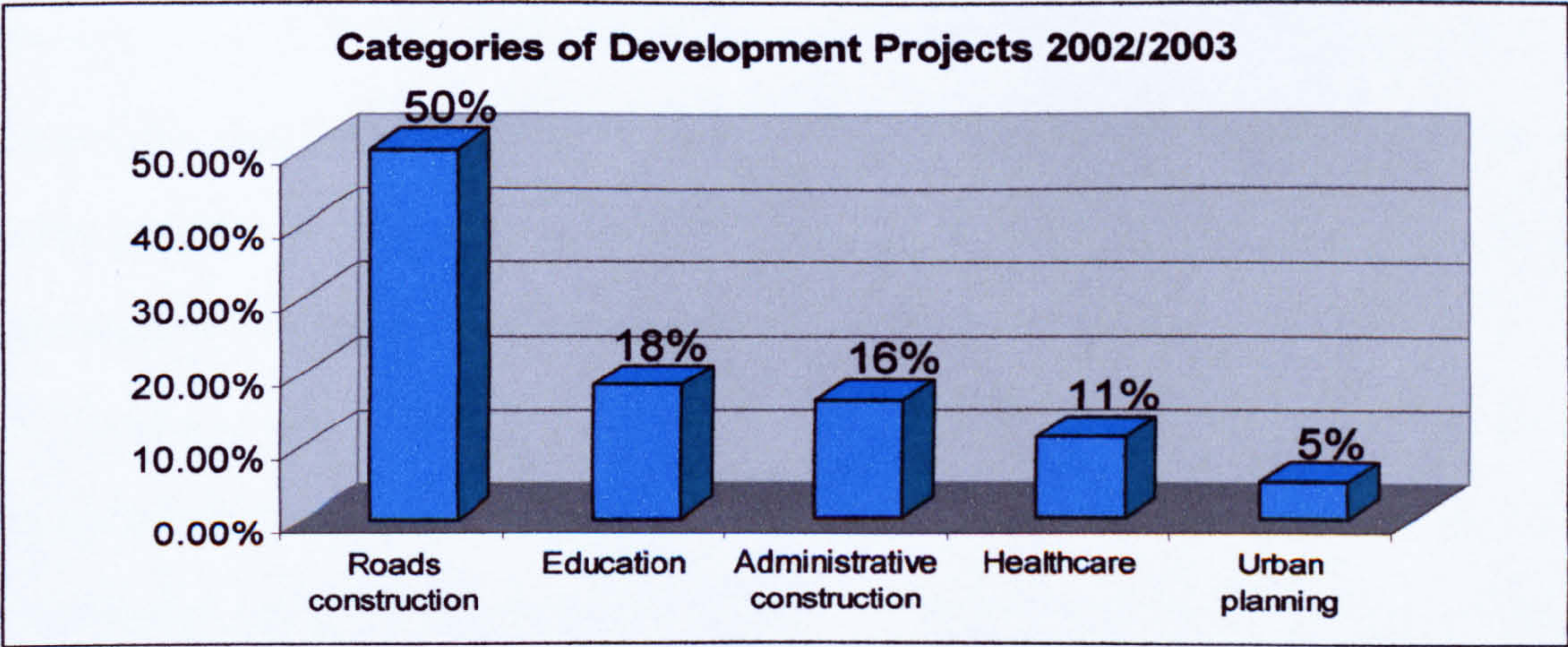
Service provision and resource allocation for economically viable development projects is at the centre of urban development. In order to increase the chances of success in the implementation process the local government has the responsibility for involving local communities in the process of formulating the policies and choosing the most urgent projects. To do this Moshi municipality, being one of the urban areas that were given the opportunity to take part in the Environmental Planning and Management (EPM) programme for sustainable development, established working groups in 1999 which, after a four day consultation process, any interested resident could join. In forming the working groups the municipality invited all residents to volunteer and register at their wards. The municipal council project document indicated that:

The mandate derived from the consultation, their broad-based stakeholder membership, and the open and participatory nature of their activities; gives the Working Groups a high degree of legitimacy. When properly co-ordinated and integrated with the local Council, this can build a decision-making process which is genuinely popular and supported by civil society (Sustainable Moshi Project Document, 2001, p.3).

In Moshi, the working groups identified a number of policies that were to be used as basic economic and development projects. These included improvement of urban growth and development in general, regeneration of the urban economy and improved tourism. Furthermore, the council pointed to other policies such as improvement of urban management that included the use of local ideas and improved participation by the various stakeholders in identifying local needs and dealing with them accordingly. Environmental awareness and resource mobilisation for sustainable development was another economic strategy identified, together with improvement of public health and sanitation as well as water sources and forest protection. Each working group is co-ordinated by municipal officers. Government officials form about 29% of the group’s members (Sustainable Moshi Project Document, 2001, p. 5) and as such it is difficult to see what proportions of the ideas are actually coming from communities.

In its 2002 budget, Moshi municipal council did not explicitly state what percentage of its budget was to be spent on development projects. However, it was clear that 438 million shillings were allocated for the purpose of development projects. At the same time the local government aimed at strengthening the trust of the people in their government by spending a larger amount than ever before in reconstruction of roads and other public services. Figure 5.3 indicates the approved development projects for the year 2002/2003 by the municipal council.

Figure 5.3: Categories of Development Projects; Moshi Municipal Council



Source: Halamashauri ya Manispaa ya Moshi, 2002, p.216.

Five categories of development project were given priority and funds for implementation. The first was the fact that 50% of all the development project funds were going to be spent on construction and renovation of roads, including feeder roads, as well as repairing trenches and road lights in the municipality (Halamashauri ya Manispaa ya Moshi, 2002, p.216). At this point it is important to mention that the amount allocated for spending on road construction included 60% of the development tax. The municipality wanted to demonstrate to its residents that it was spending their tax money on things they could see themselves. This was also an election pledge by CCM councillors which explains why it was possible to allocate so much on roads alone to fulfil their promise and to strengthen their political base, and, of course, to minimize the chances of the opposition parties for electoral success (Halamashauri ya Manispaa ya Moshi, 2002, p.7). According to Kelsall, multiparty politics is one reason for local politicians to attempt to strengthen their political base by spending more money in campaigns as well trying to increase influence in policy. "Generally speaking, competition has meant an added incentive to build strong bases of popular support" (Kelsall, 2000, p.550).

The second category in the development projects funding was education which was to receive 18% of the funds allocated, as demonstrated in figure 5.3 above. This category included six projects. The first was the construction of six primary school classrooms in five different wards of the municipality. The second was the construction of one classroom for Miembeni Secondary school. The third project was making 350 primary school desks. The fourth was the refurbishing former Kibo Secondary buildings. The fifth, finishing two teachers' houses and the sixth project was the construction of 60 toilets in various schools in the municipality. (Halamashauri ya Manispaa ya Moshi, 2002, p.7).

Giving education only 18% of the development project funds indicates that, for Moshi, education is not seen as the most powerful transformative force for pursuing sustainable urban development and improving the quality of life. Possibly Moshi municipality could afford to spend less on education because there are already 26 publicly owned primary schools and five

that are privately owned. “Of the ten secondary schools, only three are publicly owned” (Mboya et al, 1999, p.40). Generally, Kilimanjaro has the highest number of secondary schools, in comparison with other regions in Tanzania. But even here the cost-sharing era caused problems and made many discontented with the local and Central government, and a big welcome was given to the return to free primary education.

The third category of development project was administrative construction that is government buildings especially at the ward level which received 16% of the allocated funds. This was to be used to build ward offices, construct secure space for storing government records, development of markets and building the Moshi bus station (Halamashauri ya Manispaa ya Moshi, 2002, p.216 & 219).

The fourth category was healthcare which was given only 11% of the development project funds (Halamashauri ya Manispaa ya Moshi, 2002, p.216). Here the funds were to be used for 8 particular projects. Three of the projects were the construction of dispensaries, one at Korongoni, another at Mji Mpya, and the third at Rau ward. Two projects involved the continuing development of two dispensaries, one at Kiborloni and the other at Bondeni. Then there were two projects involving the construction of dispensary wards for patients, one at Majengo and the other at Msaranga. The eighth project was the construction of a postnatal ward at Shiramatunda ward (Halamashauri ya Manispaa ya Moshi, 2002, p.7).

The effectiveness of social development policy would be compromised if healthcare of the various local residents were not at the centre of the agenda for progressive change. Yet spending only 11% of the development projects funds on healthcare is hardly convincing evidence that the issue is a priority. As indicated in the previous section on institutional services, with so little of the health care provision in Moshi owned or provided by the government, the question still stands as to what role the municipality expects to play in promoting healthcare.

The fifth category of development project was that of urban planning which received 5% of the funds made available for development projects (Halamashauri ya Manispaa ya Moshi, 2002,

p.216). This was meant to fund three important projects. First, the creation of nurseries for seedlings and tree planting, second, surveying land and mapping public land ready for servicing and distribution, and third, paying compensation to those whose property would be demolished in the construction of roads etc (Halamashauri ya Manispaa ya Moshi, 2002, p.218). It is amazing that there was no direct project aimed at promoting tourism and urban regeneration that were identified as essential for Moshi's progress by the working groups. Nor was there any focus on provision of water to Moshi residents.

5.3 The Official View of the Development Process

In Moshi, the appointed officers and elected councillors' view of the development process and progress made mainly supported the official stance while a few gave an independent opinion often contrary to the official line. The analysis will follow these two categories in dealing with the official understanding of the kind of developmental progress Moshi has had and what have been the main problems. The contrasting and sometimes complementing views of the officers and councillors will be given attention in addressing the various issues concerning sustainable development in Moshi.

All the six appointed officers interviewed in Moshi in December 2000 and again in 2002 agreed with each other that the municipal council was doing a very good job in rather harsh conditions and that the approach does not need changing. 100% of the officers as indicated in Table 4.2 below chose to follow the official line as one argued:

Let me make it clear to you as I remember saying this two years ago, that in my opinion and indeed that of most officers you will speak to in this municipality as you will find out yourself, the job has not been easy for us for two reasons. First the changes demanded by the Central government, good as they are, have not been supported with adequate funding. Second, a lot more needs to be done to help the councillors learn their duties and to carry them out in a manner that is supportive of the officers, rather than following populist ideas which do not work economically. It is not as if I am trying to blame others and not take responsibility. It is a fact that generally, the municipal council is doing a very good job under difficult circumstances and our development policy approach is sound. If anyone cares to analyse it in depth this is what they will find (Interview with one head of department at Moshi municipality, Sep. 2002).

For this officer, there was no doubt that more help was needed from Central government if development goals were to be achieved, arguing that the municipality's problems were compounded by the government's inadequate support and ineffective councillors. The head of urban planning reiterated what was already in the official papers that,

One of the serious problems we are facing in Moshi is the fact that the Central government failed to review Moshi's master plan and to make a new one when it was needed. With the population growing rapidly it was clear that the plan of the municipality was inadequate and a new one should have been made long time ago. However, this did not happen. Now we have to cope with so many unplanned settlements and difficult petty traders and fruit vendors. The government should pay for these to be included in a new municipal plan and for all the reforms (Interview with one head of department at Moshi municipality, December 2000).

It was indicated also in the municipal documents that the council had meagre resources and there had been inadequate subventions from Central government (Mboya et al, 1999, p.9). It seemed to be a contradiction from the officers claiming that the councillors were ineffective and at the same time defending the development policy as adequate and sound while the policies were approved by the councillors. However, the officers' tendency to shift the blame to the Central government rather than take responsibility for what was going wrong in Moshi was replicated by two of the three councillors interviewed. However, one of them was a lone voice calling for reform within the municipal council and a shift of emphasis back to the local community's needs, saying:

The municipal council is of course trying to do a good job, but that is as far as we have got, trying but not hard enough to succeed. We spend three days trying to elect a mayor instead of debating development issues. We would not agree although almost all councillors are CCM. Then we started debating at length how much money we should get for attending the council meetings instead of how much energy we should devote to the views of the electorate and to their developmental needs. We cannot achieve sustainable development with this way of thinking. I have suggested that we devote time to thinking of how to make Moshi a town worthy of the title of capital of Kilimanjaro, and attract tourist who come to climb the mountain, but there is no response. Only small issues concern most people here, especially issues that matter to us, the officials, not to the people of Moshi as a whole (Interview with a Councillor in Moshi municipality, December 2000).

This particular councillor was well educated with a university degree and was also a successful businessman. He had a broad view of development and seemed frustrated that things were not moving as he imagined they should. He disagreed with most of the rest of the officials interviewed. Generally the officials argued that improvement was being made and the budget

was more balanced because Moshi was making real progress and economic growth was better in 2002 than it had been for more than twenty years.

Table 4.2 The Views of the Officers and Councillors in Moshi

Category	Officers demanding changes		Officers satisfied with policy		Councillors demanding change		Councillors satisfied with policy		Total no of Offic.	Total No. of Coun.
Development policy	0	0%	6	100%	1	33%	2	67%	6	3
Transportation system	3	50%	3	50%	3	100%	0	0%	6	3
Taxation policy	3	50%	3	50%	1	67%	2	33%	5	3
Small scale loans	3	50%	3	50%	3	100 %	0	0%	6	3
Working groups	4	67%	2	33%	2	67%	1	33%	6	3
Local and central gov. relationship	5	83%	1	17%	2	67%	1	33%	6	3
Housing	4	67%	2	33%	1	33%	3	67%	6	3
Transformative education	6	100%	0	0%	2	100%	3	0%	6	3
Health care coast sharing	4	67%	2	33%	3	100%	0	0%	6	3
Water provision	5	83%	1	17%	3	100%	0	0%	6	3

Transportation was an area where the policy was to repair feeder roads and spend more development funds on this area than any other in the budget. As stated above, 50% of development project funds were to be spent on roads. Three of the six officers interviewed agreed that the roads were in bad shape and needed to be made a priority, while two thought that the reason for allocating much funds on the road was more political. The sixth officer suggested that there might well be people within the municipality who had personal interests in the road construction industry. His views made a rather disturbing point:

You probably have already heard people complaining about the state of roads and so the council has decided to act upon the issue in a decisive manner by spending a lot to solve the problem. However, I suspect there is more to this response than the simple desire to develop Moshi and to respond to the needs of the electorate. As it is rumoured, it is also possible that some individuals here within the municipality will benefit directly from the money spent on construction of roads. Not that they will just pocket the money. Instead, the more money spent on the roads, the more their companies will get contracts (Interview with one head of department at Moshi municipality, Sep. 2002).

Transportation was a divisive issue for the officers. 50% of those interviewed thought it was justified to spend so much on transportation, 33% suggested political reasons had to do with the vast amount of spending while one hinted at the possibility of corruption. On the other hand, all the three councillors agreed that the roads were a priority and supported the amount spent on transportation, but did not agree on the money as a proportion of the whole budget. One said:

It is not difficult to see why we should spend more money on transportation. Most of our residents are engaged in one way or another in business and small scale trading. However, we have other issues that need urgent attention as well and that is why it might be difficult to see why we should spend such a high proportion of the budget on roads alone (Interview with one Councillor in Moshi municipality, September, 2000).

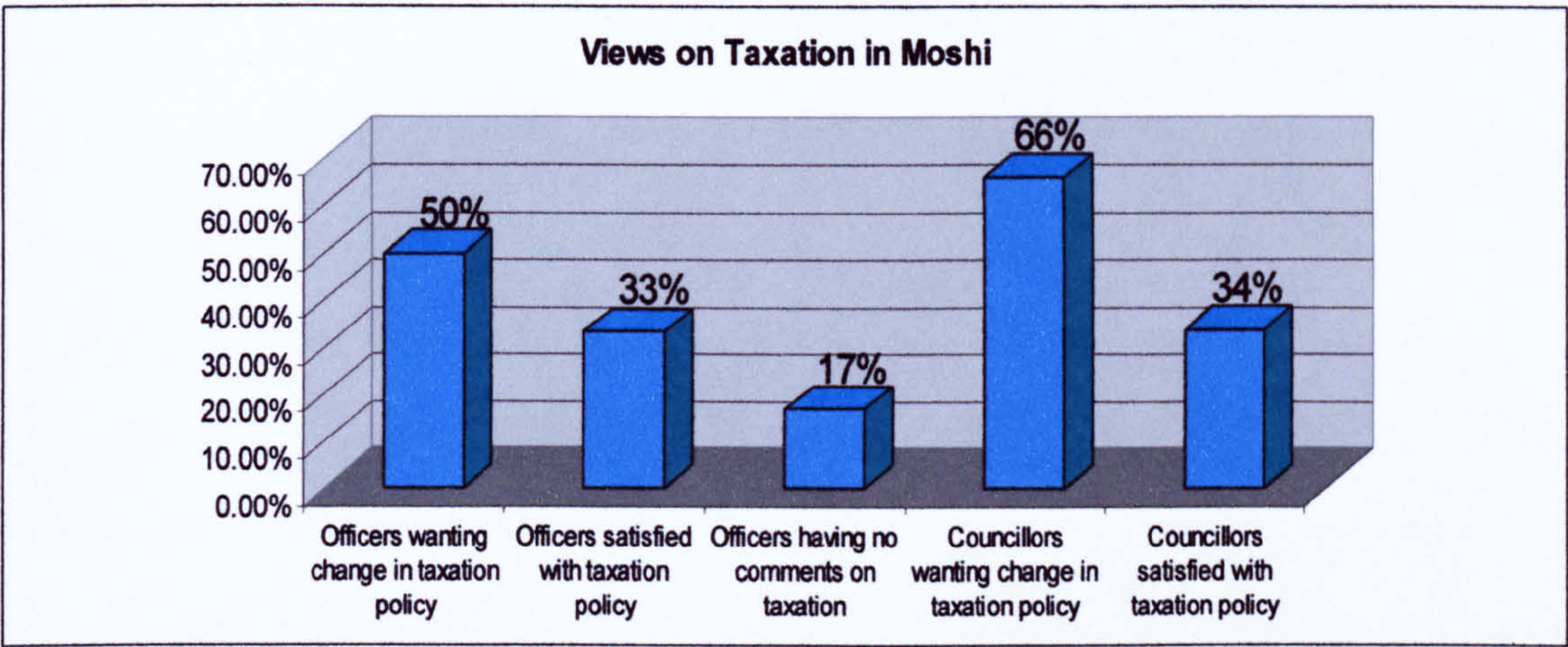
It was observed that some of the officials interviewed were a bit nervous when discussing the issue of spending money on roads. It was not very clear why but it seems that official discussions had taken place and they knew that the ruling party's manifesto had to be fulfilled and as such they did not want to join the opposition in setting different spending priorities.

Taxation was another area where opinions were divided. The official stance was that, because of ongoing local government reforms, they had made lots of changes and improvements in collecting tax and allocating resources. The officers said that some of them, and most of the councillors, had attended courses to improve their skills and thus better results were to be expected in the near future. In its mission statement the municipality acknowledged that there was a need to improve trust to make it easier to collect tax and improve its revenue. Two of the six officers thought that the taxation system was complex but satisfactory while three thought it was too complex and should be changed. One did not want to comment about taxation. In this issue therefore, only 50% of the officers agreed with the official stance as indicated in Table 4.2, while 50% wanted to see some improvement to the system and one declined to comment formally though informally he supported the official view. One of the offices put it in this way:

It is hard to convince people to pay tax all the time when they do not see much of it spent on issues that are of greatest importance to them. To the petty traders, for example, it is clear that giving them suitable areas to do their business within the municipality is their top priority. We should target groups and their needs, and yet we are not managing this, which is why some residents are complaining. One thing is true though, we are not meeting their needs, but we are using the same standards for all. Sometimes we have to use force to get tax, or confiscate goods because some residents do not want to fulfil their responsibilities (Interview with one head of department at Moshi municipality, Sep. 2002).

When it was put to municipal officers that some residents thought there was rampant practice of favouritism and corruption in enforcing the law on taxation, the officers denied any involvement in such practices, arguing strongly that there were standard procedures that applied to all and that such claims were unfounded.

Figure 5.4: Views on Taxation Policy in Moshi



Many council officials were not happy with the fact that some residents worked in Moshi and had their homes in the rural areas. “Although these residents supply most of the foodstuff, they also use urban infrastructure to the detriment of urban dwellers” said one officer. However this is an issue well recognised in major urban areas all over the world, from New York, to Bristol. A number of officials at the municipal council said that the day residents were avoiding paying council tax on their houses because they invested in expensive homes in Moshi Rural instead of doing so in the town. However one officer said that it would be very unpopular to demand that those people are charged higher than the rural tax in order to contribute to the cost of urban infrastructure.

The councillors' opinion about the taxation regime in Moshi was divided as well. One supported the official stance while the other two argued for a change in the system to make sure that the burden of taxation did not affect the poorest too much. They also argued for an improvement in collection methods. Therefore, 67% of the councillors interviewed wanted change while 33% did not. However the same councillors, who wanted change in the tax system, also drew attention to the problem of day residents. One of them said that:

This tradition of working in town and spending nights in the rural areas is destroying business in Moshi and reducing tax revenue for the municipality. These people spend so much time travelling to and from their rural homes instead of spending that time at work, business etc. If they lived here and worked here, they would increase demand for food, housing, and thus increase the production and supply to make the economy grow faster (Interview with a councillor at Moshi municipality interviewed in December 2002).

Taxation has thus remained a hot issue in the municipality and has kept discussions on-going. Yet there is a possibility that new approaches will be found as the number of councillors and officers demanding change seems to be larger than those who are satisfied with the status quo.

In the area of poverty alleviation and resource allocation for that purpose the main method used, as in most of the major urban areas in Tanzania, is the microfinance loans. In this issue the division was such that 50% of the officers interviewed were happy with the performance and the effort made to help the poor with small loans. On the other hand 50% wanted to see greater efficiency in the distribution of the funds, more education for the poor on how to use the funds and more lenient methods of collecting the loans back. One of the officers said:

We are making a lot of effort to give loans to groups of people, but we only give the money if we evaluated the group and were convinced that it will be able to manage the funds and repay the loan in the given time. You might hear about unjust allocation of funds to individuals, but that is not the case. We do not have sufficient funds for all and that is why selective decisions had to be made and some people got the loans while others have to wait. There is no exact time limit for waiting, but there are procedures in place, which include recommendation by the ward officials, and the sub-ward chairperson and evaluation by the community development committee. You see, we are making sure we treat everyone fairly (Interview with one head of department at Moshi municipality, December 2000).

However, the municipality reports admitted that more efficient methods of resource allocation were needed because "the municipality is plagued with institutional problems in urban management of resources" (Mboya et al, 1999, p. 15). That is why some of the officers clearly

wanted change in the way resources were allocated, including targeting the poor and offering more education to give them necessary skills. One officer complained during interview:

Most of those traders who are not involved with the scheme of education for business skills are not doing well in the informal sector, and are creating problems by setting up trade along the main streets, coach station and near other established formal businesses. You seem to be sympathetic with their situation and that is good, but I tell you these people are most of the time a nuisance, and dirty, and do not want to cooperate or abide to the municipal regulations (Interview with one head of department at Moshi municipality, December 2000).

This was close to the official line given by the municipality in its 1999 environmental profile where it was argued that:

Left unchecked, petty traders will seek to maximize entrepreneurial returns by occupying all optimum locations including most of the municipal centre pavements, busy market places and strategic locations along the major roads thus causing nuisance to their customers, pedestrians and motorists alike. Indiscriminate dumping of wastes by petty traders leads to environmental pollution (Mboya et al, 1999, p.36).

It is this attitude therefore that led to the council decision to use force as the ultimate intervention policy to evict traders in an attempt to move them to areas on the outskirts of the municipality. As a result there has been an increasing sense of alienation among the poor traders, and, as a result, increased resistance to paying tax. One day before finishing the research at the municipal office, I saw the same officer who had said that the petty traders were dirty and a nuisance. He was with a police auxiliary when one lady asked him where they were going and his response was, "we are going to throw some petty traders out of town today". This may be an extreme example and not the norm, but it was hard to believe this attitude was tolerated by a council that claims to have the interest of the poor in the heart of its development project and as its main goal for sustainability and poverty alleviation. The contradiction is hard to reconcile, given the fact that sustainable development is an inclusive approach to progress, in which all the local actors participate and execute policies and developmental strategies with equity in terms of access to resources.

The councillors in Moshi as in most other urban areas in Tanzania tend to be more sympathetic to the cause of the petty traders and those generally involved in the informal economy. They all agreed that funds were needed to help the poor and that there have been lots

of complaints to them about the fairness in allocation. Yet they agreed with the officers that, as far as they were concerned, they knew of no cases of malpractice or corruption. One said:

I think that some people are cunning and make claims for the cash while they really have enough resources and the council does not have enough checks and balances in its system to guarantee that the money goes only to those who deserve it (Interview with one head of department at Moshi municipality , December 2000).

All the councillors demanded was increased efficiency and proper targeting of the community members as well as more education for anyone who would be given a microfinance loan. Although the councillors seemed to be unhappy with the allocation of resources, they blamed the system, more than blaming the officers as such. Generally, therefore, the officials agreed that efforts were being made not simply to bring awareness to the people but also to educate many of the young people involved in the informal economy in order to help them improve their well-being and that more of this approach was essential for sustainable development. But the attitude towards the informal operators differed sharply from officer to officer and councillor to councillor.

Working groups which were discussed above have been understood by the officials as a tool for the municipality to gauge the residents' views. All 6 officers thought it was a very good idea to have them. According to them, the introduction of these working groups has been revolutionary in terms of enabling Moshi residents to take part in the development process, to identify problems and help in setting priorities. However, 50% of the officers thought that the actual composition of the working groups was such that the poor members of the community were left out.

The councillors were divided in their views about the composition of the working groups although they all agreed on their usefulness, at least theoretically, if they functioned the way they were meant to. One councillor thought they functioned satisfactorily while two (67%) thought there was urgent need for review and improvement of the composition of the groups. One of them added:

I agree with everyone that these groups are brilliant in helping us to learn more about the needs of the communities. I do not mean that the councillors are not making clear what they think the people want, but I mean in terms of having first hand information from the communities. However, the way things are in Moshi at the moment, most of the working groups are actually sleeping groups because they do not really function. Also they have hardly any members of the very poor whose views were meant to form a crucial part of the groups. We need to rethink our approach to this and try to be more inclusive (Interview with one councillor at Moshi municipality, September 2002).

Although the council wanted to make the process of decision-making more transparent so that the poor could be involved in all stages from policy formulation to implementation, as intended by Vision 2025 and LGRP, judging from the divided opinion, it seems much more needs to be done to reach this goal. Community based services and activities that would help the poor build capacity were to be introduced alongside the working groups and these would be visible fruits of this new approach to development based on improved skills and interpersonal relationships within the communities and with the governing institutions.

The official stance was that reforms were working, that Central government had started to fulfil its promise to hand over more power to the local government, and that the Moshi municipal council had a good working relationship with the Central government. However, one of the officers denied this. He said that:

If anything, the talk has been great and the theoretical transfer of power has taken place a long time ago, but in reality, we still have to wait for government ministers to approve our plans and frequently find that ideas are rejected (Interview with one head of department at Moshi municipality, September 2002).

He was, however, unwilling to give a concrete example of what policies from Moshi had been rejected by the Central government. It is clear though that this is a contentious issue as many officers did not want to talk about it and only one was willing to criticise the level of reforms which had taken place.

The councillors in Moshi considered that the reforms were working partially because legally they were now the employers of the officers and had more authority. They concluded, however, that this authority has not yet been fully appreciated by the Moshi residents or the municipal officers, and asserted that officers still believed that most councillors did not have enough expertise to know what would be viable economically. That is what Kessy had observed

in his research of Moshi Rural that the officers think that the elected members of the council “are totally unprepared to make policy” (Kessy, 2000, p.81). On the whole the councillors thought that they had a fairly good working relationship with the officers and the same was said of the relationship of the municipality with the Central government. But one of the councillors was critical of the process:

Although we are complaining that the officers are not listening to us, surely some of us have not got enough skills to handle them or difficult economic issues? The government needs to train us more and give us the essential skills for this purpose and for debating in order to represent our wards properly. So far it looks like the reforms are probably meant to reduce cost more than giving power to the local authorities. As a result, the municipal council has reduced its committees from eight to only two (Interview with one councillor at Moshi municipality, December 2000).

Although there was a general reluctance in discussing the relationship with the Central government, after speaking to various individual officers and councillors, it became clear that most of them were unhappy with the fact that neither the police nor the courts were under the authority of the local government. Both local politicians and council officers shared this frustration. They argued that the Police and Law Courts were essential for law enforcement and especially the implementation of unpopular policies set by Central government, such as healthcare charges. Five of the six officers were unhappy with the current relationship with the Central government and two councillors shared their views. They were unhappy because they believed that the government did not support them when they implemented those unpopular regulations. In Moshi’s environmental profile, it was stated that:

There is also a general feeling that the council sometimes operates against an antagonistic background of political environment with the regional and district administrators. When the Council executes seemingly unpopular measures such as demolishing structures used by informal sector operators, the Regional and District Administration has sometimes shied away from supporting the Local Government. As a result the council fails to perform its functions effectively and revenue collection is retarded (Mboya et al, 1999, p.76).

One of the CCM councillors interviewed made an interesting contribution indicating that the regional officials did not want to antagonise the people and thus sometimes did not allow the municipality to use the police to harass residents. He also added:

Although the opposition has no strong voice, having only one elected councillor, it is good for them to be in the council as they made the party (CCM) work harder in order not to be embarrassed for negligence or failure to deliver promises. They keep reminding us about our responsibility to the people and that is good. Because they make a lot of noise we change our approach and we will beat them in the next elections (Interview with one councillor at Moshi municipality, December 2000).

The presence of a multiparty system in Tanzania has therefore had some form of impact at least in the local level according to the reactions of officials in Moshi. All the officers and councillors said that multiparty politics was very good for Tanzania. However, opposition parties complained about unfair treatment and that they were being ignored.

The problem of housing was acknowledged by officers in Moshi municipal council as indicated above, but none of them could explain adequately why the municipality did not include it in its development projects. Two officers thought it was perfectly fine for the council not to be involved in building new houses but should encourage private companies to invest more in housing. Four officers thought the government should help provide shelter in partnership with the private sector and improve the bad living situation for those in un-serviced areas but also noted that there were not enough funds to do so. One of the officers added:

The idea of the government providing affordable accommodation at least to low income families is good. However, we do not have sufficient funds for this. I personally do not buy the idea that only the private sector should be involved in housing because the private sector tends to be more expensive for a reasonable accommodation (Interview with one head of department at Moshi municipality, September 2002).

For them the main problem was the shortage of resources in the face of very rapid increase in the rate of urbanisation. For the officers, the problem lay in finance not in political willingness to construct affordable shelter. Two of the councillors on the other hand thought that, although there was shortage of resources, the main problem was lack of political will. Only one councillor agreed with the official line that the issue was resources, not management or political will.

Education was second in terms of Moshi's development projects priorities for the year 2002/2003. Education was seen as providing individuals with knowledge of life and skills they need to shape their own development as well as for the well-being of the whole society. All the

officers agreed that education should always be given priority and when that is not possible it has to take not less than the second place. One officer said:

It is the future of the nation we are talking about. If our children do well at school, they will one day be the leaders of this country and bring development not just to Moshi but to Tanzania as a whole. We must invest more to give them that chance (Interview with one head of department at Moshi municipality, December 2000).

The councillors were in agreement too that education has to be a priority. They said that this is a very popular policy area. One said:

It is a priority of the people and it makes political sense to respond to it. It is easy to present to the officers because they like education and thus the educational needs do not attract much objection (Interview with one councillor at Moshi municipality, September 2002).

This is probably the only policy issue that all the officers and councillors agreed upon. All other issues were contested by some while being supported by others.

With regard to healthcare, four of the six officers (67%) interviewed thought that more was needed to improve access to healthcare while two just reiterated the official line that the level of investment is all that could be afforded at the time. According to the officers, as part of its sustainable development strategy, Moshi municipality has undertaken the task of working with NGOs and other stakeholders to increase education campaigns, training and awareness-raising about HIV-AIDS. This has been done among municipal officials and in various institutions including schools and industries. Moshi has also undertaken to collect data and train councillors in collaboration with other organisations, putting emphasis on preventive measures. These views were shared by the councillors. However, they thought that the cost sharing policy was not good for the people but also it was causing councillors political problems. One argued:

Cost sharing is a pain not only for the poor people who find it hard to raise the funds for medication but also for us who have to listen to their complaints every day. We find it hard to see somebody's child not getting better because they do not have money to see a doctor. Of course we have measures to help the poorest, but the rules are complicated and many end up not using the service (Interview with one councillor at Moshi municipality, September 2002).

Some form of assistance that would be easily accessible to the poor in terms of medication is what these councillors were advocating. They wanted change but did not want to antagonise the

officers and the Central government. After all this was a national policy and the council had to implement it.

According to the municipal documents, there is a shortage of water in Moshi. Indeed in 1999 and in 2001 it was noted that 53% of the water the council could provide was lost through leakage (Sustainable Moshi Project Document, 2001, p.10; Mboya, et al. 1999, p.19). Five Officers (83%) thought that there was a need to change the way water was managed so as to incorporate a culture of maintenance. However, the other officer did not think it was priority. The councillors wanted changes as well but thought it was unlikely to happen because of lack of resources which implied that the urban poor will continue to suffer.

5. 4 Views of the Electorate of the Development Process

The group of respondents drawn from the electorate interviewed in Moshi were composed of 18 petty traders and 9 residents with a variety of occupations and who were interviewed in their homes, making a total of 27 respondents. 6 of these were interviewed in the low income wards of Njoro and Pasua, 3 in each. 3 were interviewed in the more affluent upper middle income ward of Kilimanjaro. The opinions of the interviews in Moshi followed a very similar trend to that of Kinondoni. For example as indicated in table 4.3 below, 33% of the respondents agreed with the official view, while 18 of the 27 did not think that Moshi municipal council was doing a good job. Among these, 14 of the 18 petty traders thought that Moshi had not taken advantage of its geographical location close to Mt. Kilimanjaro. It was interesting that 4 of the 9 interviewed at home thought that the council was performing very badly while 5 supported the official line that the municipal authority was doing a good job. However, 3 of these 5 interviewees came from the more affluent ward of Kilimanjaro, 1 each from the wards of Njoro and Pasua. One of those who were not satisfied with the Council's performance said:

We are so near to Kilimanjaro and yet tourists go to stay in Arusha because Moshi has not got attractive tourist hotels. Lots of people do not know that our municipality is the closest town to this giant mountain, which is known as the rooftop of Africa. We do not have leaders who are interested in the development of this town. If they are interested, then they do not know how to do their job. Our parks are all deserted, dry and neglected. How are we going to attract investors? And you are asking if the council is doing a good job? It is obvious they are doing very badly (Interview with a Moshi resident at Pasua ward, December, 2000).

These comments found resonance in the Travel guide, which stated about Mount Kilimanjaro climbers that, “there seems little reason for climbers to stay in Moshi when there are better accommodation options in Arusha and in the villages of Marangu and Machame further up the hill” (Africa Travel Resource, 2004). Another respondent said:

If the municipality took full advantage of its geographical location, I tell you for sure that Moshi would make fast developmental progress by distilling, bottling and selling the clean water from Mt. Kilimanjaro to urban areas throughout Tanzania. But they are eating our money and they do not really care much about people like me or about investing in the things I just mentioned (Interview with a petty trader near Moshi bus station, December, 2000).

To most of the respondents it was obvious that their municipality was doing a poor job and as a result it was not making much progress and its economic growth was not consistent with expectation from the local communities.

The issue of transportation was rather divisive among the respondents but the debate was not so much whether the roads were good enough or not but whether the transportation system should have been given top priority in the development project funds. 52% of the electorate agreed with the municipal authority that the transportation system needed boosting and thus justified the spending. One of them said that:

We need good roads for our goods and to improve our business we must have a better transportation system. We pay tax all the time and do not see where the money goes. This spending on roads, if they will be constructed, will show me that my tax money is well spent. So far they have just started work on the roads. I hope they carry on and do the job well (Interview with a Moshi resident at Kilimanjaro ward, September, 2002).

Table 4.3 Views of the Electorate in Moshi

Category	Supporting official stance		Against official stance		Do not know about it		Total	
Municipal performance	9	33%	18	67%	-	-	27	100%
Investment in transportation	14	52%	13	48%	-	-	27	100%
Day residents	10	37%	17	63%	-	-	27	100%
Managing resources	7	26%	20	74%	-	-	27	100%
Taxation	6	22%	21	78%	-	-	27	100%
Small scale loans	2	7%	17	63%	8	30%	27	100%
Land allocation	9	41%	16	59%	-	-	27	100%
Government reforms	18	67%	4	15%	5	18%	27	100%
Representation	17	63%	10	37%	-	-	27	100%
Participation	11	41%	16	59%	-	-	27	100%
Accountability to electorate	8	30%	14	52%	5	18%	27	100%
Central Gov. planning	14	52%	13	48%	-	-	27	100%
Municipal Planning	9	33%	18	67%	-	-	27	100%
Transformative education	11	41%	16	59%	-	-	27	100%
Housing	8	30%	19	70 %	-	-	27	100%
Health care and coast sharing	8	30%	19	70%	-	-	27	100%
Water provision	12	44%	15	56%	-	-	27	100%

However, as indicated in the table above, 48% did not think that the municipality had got its planning priorities right. One of the respondents said:

Although I travel back to Mwika every evening with my uncle and I know that the roads are not that good, I do not believe that we need more money to be spent on the roads than on healthcare because that would save lives. More could be spent on the schools as well. I finished form four two years ago and I still remember fighting for a desk with my fellow students because we never had enough. That is where the money should go not on the roads. I know that everyone would see the bulldozers clearing the road and would be happy the council is doing something. I think this is an easy and very visible work that is why the council is choosing it over other more important but less visible areas such as schools (Interview with a petty trader near Moshi bus station, September, 2002).

The views were divided even among the respondents who spent nights in Moshi's hinterland who formed an important part of the so called 'day residents'. This was seen by many

respondents and officials as an important issue in Moshi. However 17 of 27 respondents, in other words, 63%, thought that it was a positive phenomenon while the rest thought it was a problem for development. One said that:

The rich are the main group of day residents. The poor cannot afford to travel to town every morning and back to the village every evening. Thus spending money on the roads would only favour the rich yet again (Interview with a Moshi resident at Njoro ward, December, 2000).

However, many other respondents thought day residence was not an issue and that the issue was rather whether the council would spend the money wisely, give contracts to the right companies etc. Some added that day residence was not a big problem because it gave employment to many in the transport industry. Also they argued that there was a balance in the situation because many of the poor people could afford accommodation in town. Yet they also could not afford to travel if there were only a few people who needed to travel to Moshi urban as the cost would be too high. Large numbers of day residents made travelling cheap and affordable for all including business and middle-income employees.

Moshi is like many other urban areas in Tanzania with regard to management of available resources. It has been observed above that the capacity of local authorities to manage even their own funds let alone those granted by the Central government is very low. In 2000 only 26% of the respondents supported the council's claim that it was managing resources well. Most of those who thought it was doing just fine were from the affluent residential area of Kilimanjaro ward. However, 20 of the 27 residents interviewed, (74%) would only rate the council as a 'poor', or 'very poor' manager of resources citing what one respondent called 'endless broken pipes' ruining roads as water is wasted and the council is doing nothing to stop the waste. In fact 44% of all the respondents argued that their municipal council was 'very poor' at managing resources, while 30% said that the council was a 'poor' manager. One resident interviewed near the little market at Pasua said:

When it comes to money, the council is good at spending on its officials' pockets instead of spending on the needs of the people. You know, I have a relative who works at the council and he tells me he overheard a few times how the councillors were discussing how to increase the amount of money they got for attending meetings. I think that they are spending the money which should go to our schools and hospitals for themselves. They design small projects to show that they are doing something with the money for the public, then, they scoop the bigger amount to their own pockets. Ask anyone here and they will tell you the same. They think we do not know, but we all know how corrupt a lot most of them are. But that is politics (lakini hiyo ni siasa) (Interview with a Petty trader at Pasua, December, 2000).

When I went back to Pasua two years later, the respondents' complaints had not changed. In fact they claimed the council was devising new ways of taxing and mismanaging funds. Whether it is true or not, the fact that many residents do not trust the municipal council is a matter of concern because sustainable development project needs them to work closely with the authority.

The issue of tax very often leads to bad experiences for informal operators, who described rather negative and the tense relations with the tax officials. For example only 6 of the 27 interviewees thought Moshi municipal council had an acceptable approach. On the other hand, 78% thought it was not acceptable. In fact almost all the petty traders and fruit vendors as well as some traders selling in the markets were critical of the municipal council and claimed they had negative experiences. One said:

I know for sure that the councillors are on our side but the officers do not care much about our well-being and that is why they keep sending the police to confiscate our goods if we are unable to pay tax or if they do not want us to sell goods in certain areas. They set high charges for poor people to pay for very minor offences such as delaying to pay tax, and if you cannot pay at all they put you in prison. I know people whose children were crying for ages for their parents who were remanded for a few shillings of tax, which of course they did not have. At least I have no children, so if it happened to me I would have only me and my elderly parents to think about (Interview with a Petty trader at Moshi bus station, September, 2002).

Another respondent who was also critical of the council argued that "sometimes we do not pay the amount of tax officially required, and, as long as we have enough to bribe the tax collectors, and they know us, we are safe" (Interview with a Petty trader near Moshi town market, September, 2002). Most of the petty traders claimed that those who were sent to collect tax, market charges or check papers treated people who had connections within the council differently. Also, they claimed, when they paid sizeable bribes to the collectors, the council did not send further threats for a long time. One of the traders added:

If the bribes are small, the police would be sent in a short time to force us to pay the whole amount of tax. This is a problem for us who are poor. Let me tell you, if one is rich, the police will discuss with them how to pay the tax. They do not destroy goods of the rich people, only ours. They do not force them to pay tax, only us (Interview with a Petty trader at Moshi bus station, September, 2002).

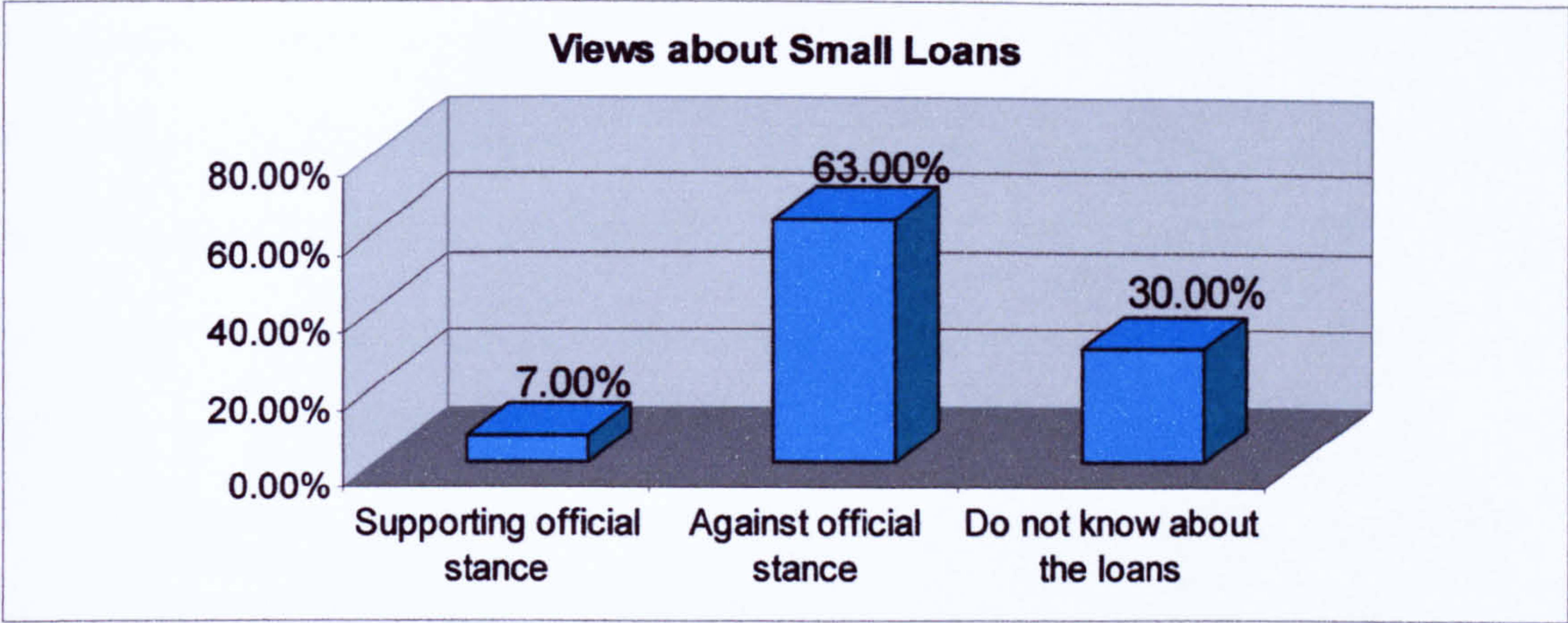
Municipal officers denied any involvement in such practices, citing standard procedures for all residents, rich and poor alike. Nevertheless, when one hears complaints from so many residents, it is difficult to believe other than there must be a problem somewhere in the system, whether the authorities acknowledge it or not.

Moshi municipal council has used by-laws to foster various programmes and especially to increase tax and other charges. One of the local respondents was angry at the municipal council's by-laws and pointed out that, in his opinion, the laws created locally were helping the officials to misappropriate funds, for example charging for school desks which were never purchased. His opinion was resonated in responses given by most of the other respondents in Moshi. One respondent added:

They introduced penalties for people peeing in public places such as the neglected Uhuru Park, but they do not give any receipt. Who knows where the money goes if not in someone's pocket? Why don't they give receipts? Furthermore, the council has not built public toilets and has no warning signs in the area though they know that it is a habit for the poor people in Moshi to help themselves in the dirty Park. As such the fine is meant to exploit poor urban dwellers in Moshi. The council does not do anything for the poor in Moshi, only the influential, the powerful and those with connections with these two groups benefiting from the reforms and the locally made laws (Interview with a Petty trader near Mawenzi Hospital, December, 2000).

However, in the 2002/2003 budget report the municipality stated that it would work hard to earn people's trust, implying that they could see that it was lacking and was affecting tax collection and driving residents away from supporting the council's goal of local involvement in sustainable development. This erosion of trust between the local actors and local government has been detrimental to development in Moshi. Unless the reforms change corrupt practices, and encourage the use of persuasion and incentives instead of force to collect tax, sustainability will be hard to achieve.

Figure 5.5: Views on the Small Loans (Microfinance)



On the issue of poverty alleviation through microfinance, 17 of the 27 respondents thought that the council credit system was based on favouritism and bias towards those who ‘have’ and against the ‘have-nots’. Worse still, 30% of the respondents, as indicated in figure 5.4 above, did not even know they could get loans from the council or that the scheme existed in Moshi. One of those who were aware of such loans said:

To get the loan was a very difficult thing. I joined a group and almost at the time we were to be given the money, one of us pulled out. Even though we had been given training, we were denied the credit till we found a new member, and even then we were told we would have to wait for another year because there were no more funds. Luckily we found a fifth member, she had no training but she knew someone at the office, and that changed our fortune. We were given the loan immediately and our business took off. You can see yourself, I am not doing that well, but I have enough for my children and a small amount of savings. It did help to have someone known by the officials (Interview with a Petty trader at Moshi bus stand, September, 2002).

She also added that the so-called standards existed on paper but were applied differently to those with influence. She was not the only one to have these views. Another respondent also showed me the house her neighbour built “after her business had done well for just over a year”, as she put it. Then she added, “although she was doing that well, she got the community development credit while those of us who did not have much money got nothing, even after forming the required group of five” (Interview with a Petty trader at Njoro, September, 2002). This is similar to what Ingle had experienced in Tanga that the influence of the commissioner depended on distribution of favours (Ingle, 1972). However, for the poor, corruption seems to be rife in Moshi and development was not happening for the majority of urban dwellers but for

a selected few that had connections at the municipal council or had money to pay and establish connections. Many believed that the lower income groups without connections had no voice, even within the informal economy. They also thought that to qualify for the loan one needed to be able to give favours to the local officials in order to get a recommendation. Then, if this stage goes well, one would need to give more so that the local ward official involved may use it to influence decisions at the council. One respondent said:

Here in Moshi, money counts. You have it, you are important! If you don't, not even one person wants to look at you or your problems, let alone help you (Interview with a Petty trader at Moshi town market, December 2000).

Most of the respondents who were aware that the loans were available at the municipal council said that the scheme was good for the local authority because it gave them an opportunity to appropriate funds or give loans to their families. With only 7% supporting the municipality's official view, questions need to be asked about trust and the involvement of the poor in the sustainable development process.

The religious leaders in Moshi at the Catholic cathedral, the Anglican churches and the Moshi mosque with its office at Magogoni had a more balanced view, observing that there was some corruption but this was exaggerated by the urban poor just as the officials underestimated the depth of corruption. However, from a political and development perspective, the perception of high levels of corruption is significant.

Allocation of small business areas and markets in Moshi has been a very controversial issue. 41% of the respondents agreed with the official claim that the allocation was fair, while 16 of the 27 respondents disagreed with Moshi municipal council, arguing that there was no fairness in the distribution and that all should be judged according to the same standards. For example, two respondents, one male and one female, from Njoro and Pasua wards, said that they had made requests for an official place to do business but were turned down. However, each of them claimed to know neighbours who had relatives working at the municipality who got allocated areas for business soon after moving to town from Moshi rural. One of them said:

You do not think anyone gets a place for business in the market just like that. It is not as simple as filing an application form and wait for your turn. You have to look for relatives with influence at the municipal council if you have no relatives there. If you are like me, you end up selling peanuts along the road and get all the troubles from the police. You think I did not apply for a place in the market? I have waited for years and nothing happens. I have seen people getting places and wasting them in the market, and I am still waiting. Believe it or not, you need three things to get help from the municipality, money, relatives and influential friends (Interview with a Petty trader Njoro ward, September, 2002).

The woman from Pasua shared the same view and added that, “you are doubly disadvantaged if you are poor and have no influential relatives” (Interview with a Petty trader Pasua ward, September, 2002). In the respondents’ opinion, there was no doubt that the officials were not telling the truth when they claimed to apply the same standards in allocating areas for small business as in the case of small scale loans.

According to a number of respondents, the officials think those in the informal sector are stupid and are making the town dirty. The respondents complained in Moshi because they had been moved by force from areas they perceived to be good for business and where they generated better income. One respondent told me of his ordeal:

The municipal auxiliary police crushed my biscuits and mirrors because I was unable to run fast enough when they came in unexpected patrols to round up petty traders from Moshi town centre. You may not believe that they would crush anyone’s only source of income like that but if you stay here long enough, you will see for yourself. They do not care; they just destroy our livelihood, without thinking about us (Interview with a Petty trader at Moshi bus station, December, 2000).

Although I did not witness the destruction of this man’s only assets, I recalled one officer’s earlier comments when he described petty traders as a ‘dirty nuisance’ and how he arrogantly talked about ‘throwing petty traders out of town’. The forceful intervention by the municipal authority to remove the petty traders has increased mistrust and anger from the informal operators concerned. This form of alienation expressed by so many Moshi residents could not be part of a viable economic strategy for sustainable development within local or Central government. The perception is of deep alienation of the poor and with justification if it reflects what happens in practice.

The ongoing local government reforms have not been perceived very well in Moshi. However one respondent said that the reforms introduced by the Central government were not being implemented fully:

It suits them, both central and local government, because if the reforms took place to the full, poor people like me would be involved in making decisions and following them up. That would make it harder for the leaders to spend government money for their own children and for enjoyment while the poor are suffering without water, food, and a good place to sleep (Interview with a Moshi resident at Kilimanjaro ward, December, 2000).

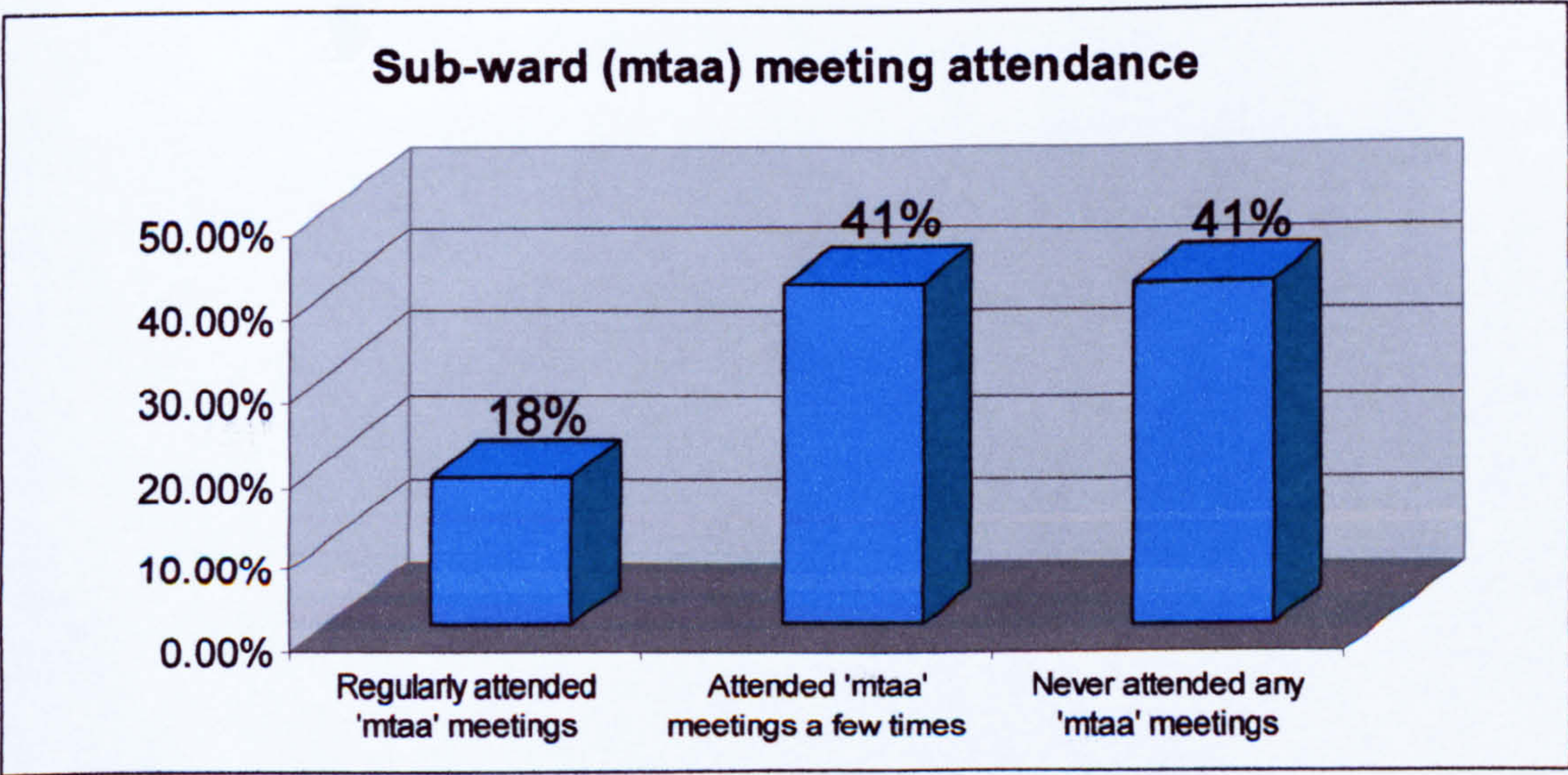
The implication here is that people have lost trust in the government at both levels, local and central alike. However, they suggested that the Central government was doing a better job and that the local government should fully implement all the steps of the Local Government Reform Programme (LGRP) policies coming from Central government. In Moshi, 18% of the respondents did not know about the reforms at all while 15% knew but did not support the official view. The rest (67%) supported the official argument about the usefulness of the reforms. However, most of those who knew about the reforms did not think there had yet been a significant shift in the way the local authority functioned. They suggested that the local government still depended on Central government for policy, revenue and law, and did not think the rhetoric of transferring power to the people was matched by action.

With regard to political representation and participation, 17 of the respondents (63%) said they believed that the ruling party was doing all right while the remainder said it was time a more efficient and accountable party replaced it. The same respondents thought the local government was not representing them very well and that is why it was not helping them with their problems. It was as if there was confusion or lack of knowledge of the fact that at the time the ruling party, which they thought was representing them, was also dominating the council. When this challenge was put to them, one respondent added:

Have you forgotten? Many of us have told you the councillors are on our side, but not the officers. We elected them and they are trying to help us against the officers who do not care what happens to us or our children (Interview with a Petty trader near Moshi bus station, September, 2002).

Though different individuals, again 74% of my respondents in Moshi also thought that the multi party system was very good for the country, and for the municipality . “This system has given us a chance to complain even if our voices are still not having any significant impact” (Interview with a Moshi resident at Kilimanjaro ward, December, 2000). Another respondent added that, “the system has enabled us to challenge bad development policies set forth by the ruling party CCM and in this way we are keeping the ruling party leaders on their toes” (Interview with a Moshi resident at Njoro ward, December, 2000). However, despite local grievances, CCM still won all except one of the council seats in Moshi. This has been explained by various respondents as an outcome of coherent policies, intimidation of opposition leaders as well as promises of reforms and the internal competition, which produced new candidates. The electorate made a rational choice based upon potential effectiveness and hope that this will make the government more responsive to their needs. It could also be the case that they wanted to be on the winning side, thus knowing the opposition had little chance of victory they voted CCM, as experienced among the Acholi who voted for the winners in Uganda (Leys, 1967).

Figure 5.6: Views on Sub-ward (mtaa) Meeting Attendance



While complaining that the working groups were not for the poor, and that the local government did not represent them well, 11 of the 27 respondents said they had never attended any meeting arranged by their sub-ward leaders because they thought it was a futile exercise to

try and influence the way things were in the municipality . Another 11 had attended some of the meetings but only a few of these thought it was worth the time they spent discussing development issues. And the remaining 18% were actively involved in the meetings regularly and among them were a few members of working groups. Although 41% supported the official view and were either actively attending meetings or had been in a number of meetings, at least 41% were completely cut off from the decision making process and together with those who attended a few meeting but did not want to be involved anymore, they make 59% of the respondents who did not support the official position. Furthermore, because some of those who attended a few meetings had given up attending altogether, this implies that a large number of the respondents are disengaged from the development process led by the council.

Asked if the municipal council was accountable, 52% of my respondents said that the municipal council was neither effective nor accountable. 18% said they did not know and only 30%, that is 8 of the 27 respondents, supported the official claim that the council was doing well. Most residents said that they had not seen the budget published anywhere and maybe that was only a plan that had yet to be fulfilled. Generally it was only the officers and the councillors who had a copy, and residents said that there was no copy available in the local library. The officials on the other hand said they had now started to publish the budget. One respondent said that he was working for a development NGO and he got information there that the Central government had given money for the construction of the road from Moshi town to “Kilimanjaro Christian Medical Centre” (KCMC), but he knew that the road had not been constructed. Half of the project had been done and they had covered potholes in the rest. He said he challenged the officials but they refused to give an explanation as to how the road funds had been spent. Another respondent said that the officials did not care whether or not people were aware of what was going on in the council. He added:

They only mind if they think you know too much and are likely to expose their corruption. I suggest you do not ask too many questions concerning finance or expenditure because if you are not careful, they will not let you touch the files again. The corruption in this council is simply deadly. It is as bad as in the Central government (Interview with an NGO official, December, 2000).

His views found resonance with many other respondents in Moshi. It was the first time I heard the Central government being lumped together with local government in terms of lack of efficiency, corruption and lack of accountability. It turned out, however, that a good number of these respondents belonged to the opposition party “Chama Cha Demokrasia na Maendeleo” (CHADEMA), and perhaps their views were not completely objective given the general criticisms their party was officially making against the ruling party. All the same they revealed part of the problem of accountability that reduced the effectiveness of the local political system.

On Central government planning, there was no doubt in the view of many respondents that there was corruption there also, which was considered as bad as in their own municipality . 52% of the respondents said that the Central government was good in planning while 48% did not agree and wished to pin the blame on both central and local government for the development problems in Moshi. However, one respondent said “the problem is not in the planning but in the corruption involved in the process of implementation” (Interview with a Petty trader at Moshi bus station, September, 2002).

In the case of Moshi municipality’s planning and governance capacity, the perception of the respondents was that it was bad, planning poor and implementation brutal. No wonder only 33% of the 27 respondents agreed with the official view while 67% said that the form of governance was bad, unreliable, very corrupt and unhelpful to the urban poor. One said,

If you offer a good sum of money to some officials, you will have no problems in whatever you ask the municipal council to approve. If you are as poor as I am, you have to wait for a miracle to get help from the council. You see, my friend was looking for a job and had little experience but his cousin is a secretary at the local government and so he got it, leaving people with better qualification and more experience. What would you call this, good governance or corruption? You need to stay here with us long enough and you will see for yourself. Our leaders are not accountable (Interview with a Petty trader near Moshi bus station, September, 2002).

For a number of respondents, the fact that there was no copy of the budget report in the library meant that the council did not want the people to see its plans because that way they will not ask questions. A small group thought Moshi municipality was following good principles of

governance but had few resources to bring the desired changes. However, even these were not sure if the available resources were distributed fairly.

Education was one of the most important issues for the respondents in Moshi and the municipal council placed it second in allocating development projects. Despite this 59% of the 27 respondents suggested that the idea of education as a transformative force for all the people involved has not yet been adopted. If it had, they argued, the council would have placed education on top of the development agenda. Only 41% of the respondents agreed with the council. Recalling the time of cost-sharing, some respondents regarded the idea of primary school fees as a penalty imposed on the poor by the local and Central government. Some blamed the IMF and the World Bank for introducing the structural adjustment programmes which brought hardship, while others pointed out that it was the responsibility of the government to educate its citizens and thus it should take full responsibility for this failure. One resident said:

You see, our government is rotten completely. It has now reintroduced free primary education but every now and then parents have to pay money for chairs, classes, tables, books and so on. This is school fee with a different name. I am sure of this (Interview with a Petty trader near Moshi bus station, September, 2002).

His frustration was clear and the little money he earned selling imported second hand clothing had to be shared with his three children, all of whom were in primary school. Indeed, like many other poor urban dwellers, he did not think that Moshi municipal authorities put enough emphasis on education but were driven by personal gain and greed, hence the continual demand for money for desks and classrooms. There was no vision of transformative education fundamental for sustainable development. However, in reality education is a national policy, and, except for by-laws concerning parent's contribution, municipal authorities have no room for manoeuvre.

In Moshi 70% of all the 27 respondents lived in rented accommodation. It was the same percentage of respondents who were unhappy with the municipal stance that all accommodation should be provided by the private market. 30% of the electorate respondents said the policy was

fine. The 30% of respondents who did not live in rented homes were composed of two groups. First 19% lived with their better-off relatives while searching for their own accommodation to rent and the second 11% owned their accommodation. Most respondents complained about shelter as one said:

We have a small house as you can see yourself, the roof is leaking when it rains and it is simply overcrowded here. It is also not safe, as people get robbed every now and then. If the government does not help in building affordable houses, this big shortage of housing will increase. We rented this house after months of searching. It is difficult life, but at least we are still alive. The council people who do not want the government to build cheap houses are land lords who would lose out if such a good project was to be passed by the government (Interview with a Moshi resident at Pasua ward, September, 2002).

Most respondents claimed that there was an acute shortage of housing and that the government should build affordable housing for low-income earners.

30% of the respondents were contented with the official stance. However, 70% contested the governments' stance on cost-sharing in health-care, though they agreed that there was no shortage of medical facilities in the municipality. They argued that healthcare was not affordable for most of the urban poor. Cost-sharing was hurting the poor who had little or no money for medication and were dying from diseases that were perfectly treatable, such as malaria and dysentery. The respondents said that healthcare had not been given much attention.

Most of the respondents said they knew someone with AIDS. However all of them said that they had never talked about it with the victims because it was like a taboo:

Nobody talks about it if they are suffering from the epidemic or their relatives are involved. I know that my cousin died of Aids but we never talked about it even after we buried him (Interview with a Moshi resident at Njoro ward, September, 2002).

The respondent agreed, though, that it was better if people started talking about it because it would increase awareness and reduce the number of deaths. He also said that the government was not educating people about how to discuss the issue:

All they tell us is how to avoid it and how bad it is. There is no information about how to talk to those who are already affected by the epidemic (Interview with a Moshi resident at Pasua ward, September, 2002).

One of the NGO officials complained that the municipality had not been transparent in its strategy, but generally I found that Moshi municipal council seems to be active in fighting

AIDS. Furthermore, at UMATI, the main NGO dealing with health issues in Moshi, the officials were happy that the municipality was supporting them in their effort to raise awareness. However the services were mainly used by middle income groups.

Water was seen as a problem by 56% of the respondents in Moshi who argued against the official view and complained about the shortage of water and said that they had to spend hours going to get water from the river, or from other areas that had water supply. The rest, 44% supported the official view. One of the dissatisfied argued:

Any local government that is serious about sustainable development would repair the broken pipes in order to minimise the loss of water. Our municipal council has done nothing of the sort and in most places you go you see water leaking and ruining roads. They keep talking about sustainable urban development (miji endelevu), but it is only nice talk with no content just like wind (Interview with a Moshi resident at Njoro ward, September, 2002).

In my analysis of the facts I realised that all the respondents agreed that there was a problem of water. Losing 53% of all the potential water supply would not be acceptable in an efficient and effective municipality striving for development of the local actors.

Conclusions

This chapter has established that located near the greatest mountain in Africa, Kilimanjaro, and having a very rich agricultural hinterland, Moshi municipality's potential for achieving sustainable urban development is immense. It has set up various institutions of governance and service provision to assist the municipal council in its developmental goals. The council has set for itself potentially very helpful policies and development projects and the continuous debate within the council indicates genuine attempts to achieve the goals of the National Development Vision. However, poor allocation and management of resources has alienated the urban poor who felt they had been unfairly evicted from strategic business areas where they have been taking refuge in the informal economy. Their complaints about poor treatment at the hands of the municipal officials in the process of revenue collection, indicates a growing mistrust which might have negative repercussions that are detrimental to the development process. Thus while attempting to increase revenue collection Moshi

municipal council has further neglected the needs of the poor by destroying their goods when unable to make expected payment. Failure of the authorities to treat the residents with professional courtesy and respect has pushed them out of the political and development participation in such a way many residents remained ignorant of major policies such as the Local Government Reforms Programme (LGRP). In addition, because of poor services, many are still striving to survive rather than engage in productive activities, thus jeopardising the process of sustainable development. The allegations about corruption and nepotism as well as favouritism, though not conclusively proven, have a damaging effect for the council because even if they are exaggerated, the widespread perception that such is the case leads to apathy and further disengagement from the process of development by the urban poor. It has also been established that the sense of alienation has become self-perpetuating as many respondents had given up attending meetings altogether. The opposition parties have not had a significant impact but have increased political awareness and provide an alternative arena for voicing frustrations for those who are unhappy with the council. However, the politics of siding with the prospective winner rather than the party verbally supported on the streets seems to win the day, thus CCM remains in charge. Yet again, despite reasonable development goals, the implementation process has been detrimental to the urban poor and to the sustainable development process as a whole. This is a clear reminder that good policies are necessary but alone are not a sufficient condition for success of sustainable urban development.

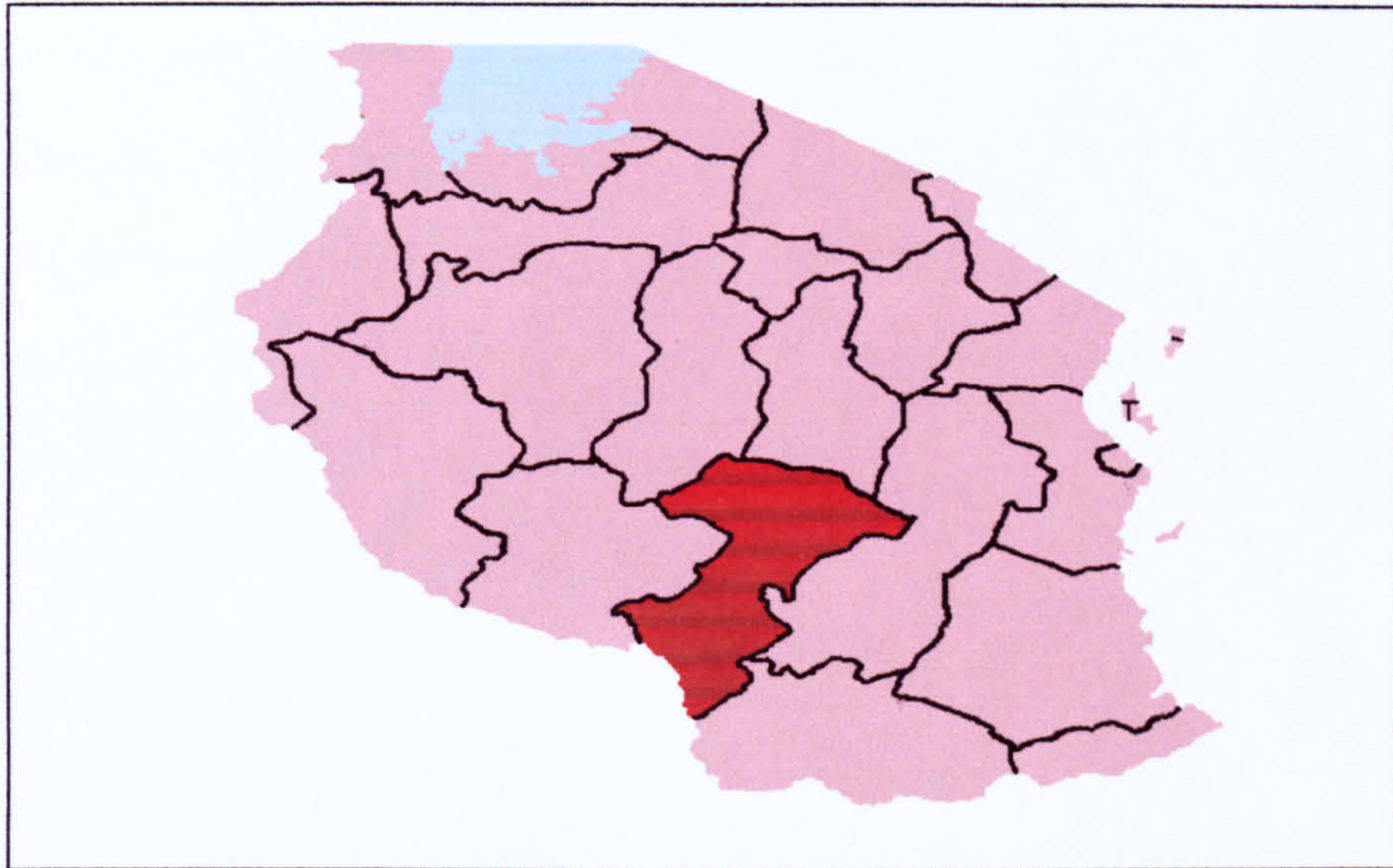
Chapter 6. Sustainable Urban Development in Iringa

6.1 Historical Background and Social-Economic Profile

Although Iringa was established before the colonial era and became important under the Germans, it was not until after independence that it started growing rapidly. Now Iringa is one of the small towns in Tanzania that have been growing quickly in the last three decades and was given the status of a municipality in 1980 (Iringa Municipal council 2000, p.5). 'Iringa

municipal council' is part of the Iringa Region and is located about five hundred kilometres southwest of Dar es Salaam. Iringa is located on Tanzania's southern highland ranges. Indeed, "the town stretches along a hilltop overlooking the Ruaha River to the south, and spreads along ridges and valleys to the north" (<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Iringa>, 12 July 2006).

Figure 6.0: Iringa Region in the Map of Tanzania



Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Image:Tanzania_Iringa.png, 11 February 2007.

The municipality is only about 40 kilometres from Ruaha National Park and only 16 kilometres away from the historical Hehe Chief headquarters of Kalenga. This provides potential for attracting tourists to the town. It is also located near the Ismila Stone Age Tool Site. "The site, which lies about 20 km (12 miles) to the southwest, contains archaeological artefacts, particularly stone tools, from human habitation about 70,000 years ago" (<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Iringa>, 12 July 2006).

Like most urban centres in Tanzania, Iringa became an important urban centre during the colonial era. However, it was established as a small settlement prior to that by a local chief and became prominent in the history of Tanganyika before the colonial era. Iringa municipal council argues that, "it was the Hehe Chief Mtwā-Mkwawa who first established the headquarters of his Chieftainship on the plateau, deliberately for safety and defence purpose" (Iringa Municipal

Council (IMC), 2000, p. 5). That is why even the name itself was derived from the Hehe word *lilinga*, meaning fort (<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Iringa>, 12 July 2006). According to 'Go to Africa', "it was near here that in 1894, Hehe Chief Mkwawa built a 13km long and four metre high stockade in an attempt to fight off the advance of German colonization" (<http://www.go2africa.com/Tanzania/ruaha-and-lake-rukwa/iringa/> 2006). Wikipedia claims further that Iringa town was built during the 1890s by the German Army as a defensive base to be used against the Hehe uprising lead by Chief Mkwawa whose fortress and headquarters were situated in the nearby village of Kalenga. Tanzania Tourist board stated that:

During German occupation, the German military constructed the town as a fortified defence against marauding Hehe tribal warriors intent on driving them out of the region. Gangilonga Rock, a site just outside of the town, is a legendary spot where the Hehe chief at that time, Chief Mkwawa, met with his people and decided how to fight the Germans (<http://tanzaniatouristboard.com/iringa>, 2006).

Mukwawa lost his last major battle with the Germans, in October 1894, and after three years when he was betrayed, he killed himself (Musso, 1968, pp.61-65). In the same year of his death, 1898, the Germany colonial authority made Iringa an administrative centre for southern Tanganyika thus developing it into an important market centre for agricultural products produced by European farmers who worked in its hinterland (Iringa Municipal council 2000, p. 5). According to the Tanzania Tourist Board, Iringa was also the site of several battles during the First and Second World Wars, and to date, Commonwealth War graves are located just outside of town.

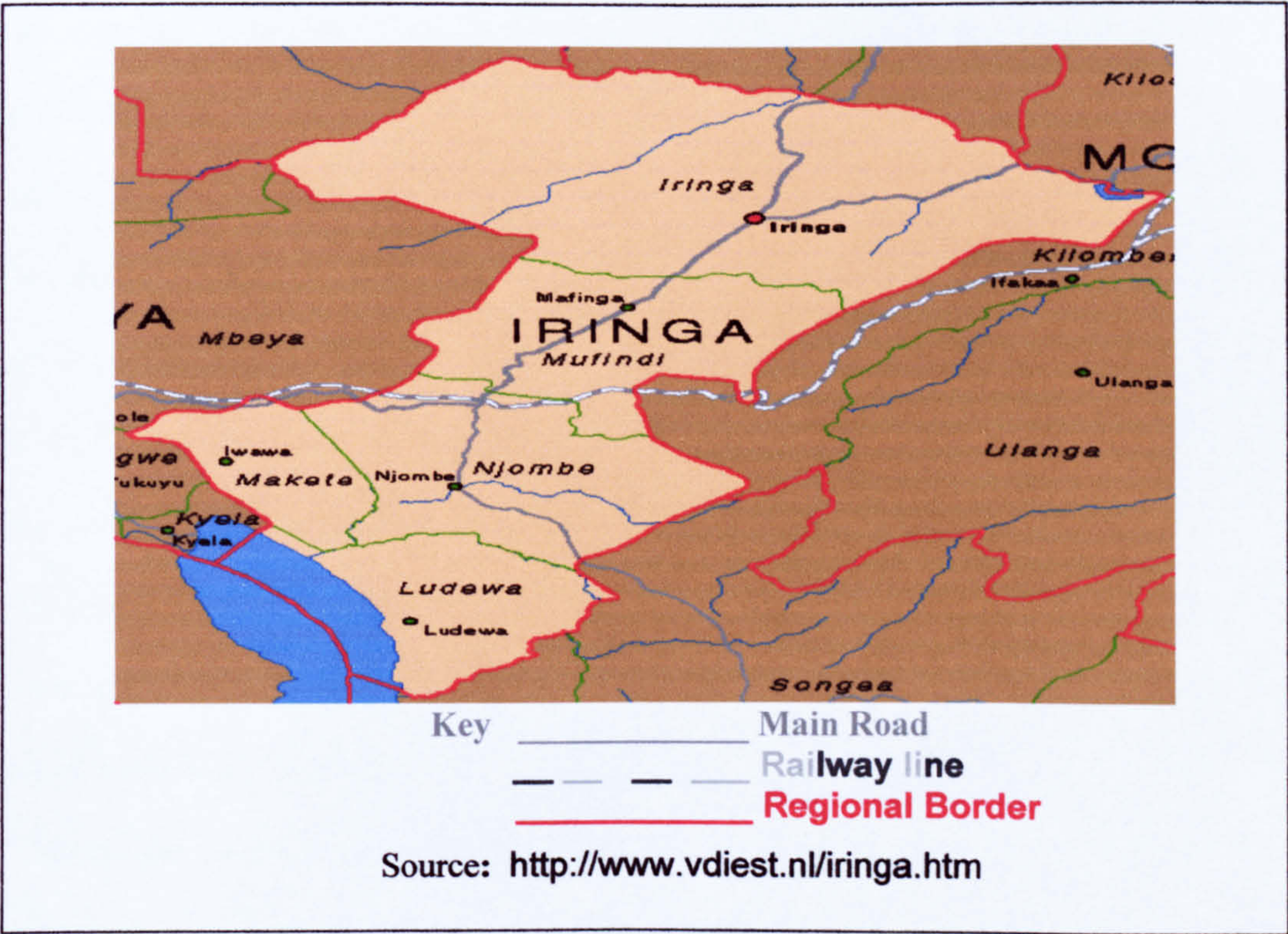
Iringa's recent history is linked with the Mkwawa family. Some of the respondents argued that among the factors that elevated the town to be a Municipality , was the fact that Mkwawa's grandson, the former Speaker of the Parliament Chief Adam Sapi Mkwawa was from Iringa.

The late Chief Adam Sapi Mkwawa was installed Chief of the Wahehe in 1940 until 1962 when he was elected the Speaker of the National Assembly. In 1973 he was appointed Minister of State for Capital Development up to 1975 when he returned to the National Assembly as Speaker a position he held until his retirement in 1995 (Umoja, 2002, <http://www.umoja.co.tz/mkwawa.htm>).

Obviously having important leaders plays a role in forging social networks with the Central government that could prove helpful for development. Nevertheless, the government has standards which must be met for a town to be elevated to a municipality.

During Tanzania’s first attempt to decentralise the Government Administration, Iringa was not chosen by the government as one of the nine growth poles to drive economic development in Tanzania. The selection and the process of decentralisation was meant to be part of the 2nd Five Year Development Plan (1969-1974) aimed at fostering development and economic growth in different parts of the country. Iringa was not perceived by the Central government as one of the strategic urban areas and thus its political location was far from the centre and low in the hierarchy of urban centres in Tanzania. One reason could be that Iringa had no important TANU activists despite having Mkwawa in the legislative council. Furthermore, although Mkwawa its MP, was the Speaker of the National Assembly, the government saw Iringa Region as difficult to manage because its Regional Commissioner was assassinated by a local farmer in 1971 (Mkaidi, 1995, p52).

Figure 6.1: A Map of Iringa Region



According to Wikipedia,

Most of Iringa's electricity comes from the nearby Mtera Dam. Iringa is a minor transport hub, with regular bus service and trucking to Dar es Salaam, Mbeya, Songea, and Dodoma(<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Iringa>, 12 July 2006).

However, although there are buses daily from Dar, Dodoma and Songea, the highway going to Zambia known as 'Tanzam highway' does not go through the town. In fact "the Tanzam Highway passes through the valley below the town" (<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Iringa>, 12 July 2006).

Iringa region has seven administrative local government authorities, one of which is Iringa municipal council. Iringa Rural Authority borders the municipality from all directions. The municipality is the administrative and commercial capital of Iringa region and home to District and Regional headquarters that contributed to its status, brought employment and concentration of services such as health and education.

Iringa municipality has a relatively cool temperature throughout the year and has one rainy season from December to May. In fact "the months of June, July, and August can see low temperatures near freezing" (<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Iringa>, 12 July 2006). Although Iringa municipality has a rich hinterland, the fact that there is only one season of rain reduces that advantage. Nevertheless, if production is maximised during that season, then Iringa can produce enough food and have a surplus available for sale to neighbouring regions. Iringa is the highest tea-producing region in the country. However, unlike Moshi town, which has all the coffee processing industries and co-operatives within the municipality, tea is processed not in Iringa town but in the rural district of Mufindi, and in Mbeya.

There are three main sectors through which the residents of Iringa earn their living and from which the municipal council is expected to generate tax revenue. The economy of the municipal inhabitants "depends on the Agriculture, Trade and Industry sectors" (IMC, 2000, p.5). One special feature of Iringa is its dependence on urban farming and the great contribution

this has made to its economy, employment and improved food security. According to Iringa municipal council, “Urban farming is one of the key economic sectors. It provides employment to over 40% of the labour force and contributes 40% of the food requirements for the municipality” (IMC, 2000, p. 6). Again, according to the sustainable Iringa project document, “two thirds of the municipal area is said to be suitable for urban farming which includes both crop production and livestock” (SIP, 1999, p. 3). Most farmers plant maize and vegetables and have a few cows. Other major economic activities in Iringa are related to its function as the administrative capital of Iringa Region and to industry as well as trade. SIP noted that:

Although there are a variety of small scale manufacturing industries and a few medium scale industries, it is the impression that the informal sector provides employment for a large part of the population. Existing manufacturing industries engage in primary processing on a small scale. There are two broad categories namely medium-type and small scale industries. The latter include brick making, grain milling, seed oil processing, carpentry and local brewing. Medium sized industries include food processing such as mineral water and juice production (SIP, 1999, p. 3)

A more comprehensive approach to economic growth and development is needed to set a base for sustainable development in Iringa. The most appropriate economic strategies for sustainable urban development will have visible investment in human capital that gives opportunity to reduce income group tensions and improve living standards for the poor. The question is how is Iringa doing in its economic strategy? “Is the government investing adequately in human capital through programmes on nutrition, public health, disease control, education and family planning?” (Sachs, 2005, p. 85). The greater the success of this kind of investment, the greater productivity will be, thus increasing the possibility of sustaining development while prioritising the residents’ needs.

6.2 Governance, Institutions, Resource Flow and Development Projects

6.2.1 Good Governance and Accountability

In Iringa municipality as in the entire nation, good governance must involve all the local actors, bringing poor urban communities together with the municipal council and other stakeholders. The council should also plan ahead and efficiently, follow the plan, monitor the

process and evaluate the outcome. This was the aim of the municipality as indicated in the Sustainable Iringa project document as stipulated by the NEP:

The project recognises that poverty is a major cause and effect of environmental degradation and seeks to develop an approach that addresses this. Implementation methods will therefore be designed to strengthen human resource capacity and involve all stakeholders in society, including the poorest and most marginalised groups, in bottom-up environmental planning and problem solving. This will lead to improved equity in decision making and contribute towards a more democratic society and strengthen good government practices (SIP, 1999, p. i).

The document outlined the mission for the municipal council and stated its determination to be inclusive in the process of policy formulation and implementation as well as in following up the projects progress. This developmental statement was reinforced by the 2002 budget and development plan which stated that its mission was to improve its residents' livelihoods:

Halmashauri ya Manispaa ina shabaha ya kuboresha hali ya wananchi wake kwa kutoa huduma mbalimbali hususani katika nyanja zote za kiuchumi na kijamii (Halmashauri ya Manispaa ya Iringa (HMI), 2002, p. 7).

Iringa Municipal council is aiming at improving its residents' living conditions by providing various services especially in all economic and community aspects (Iringa Municipal Council, 2002, p. 7)

This mission statement, though it seems to be vague and without specific issues, is reinforcing what has already been stated above, namely, the attempt to involve the local communities in the planning and implementation of policies through a bottom-up approach as demanded by the LGRP and the national Development Vision 2025. Despite these good plans, in 1999 many problems were acknowledged in the sustainable development report. Indeed in Iringa:

Due to lack of resources and the reactive nature of work, mainly in the form of crisis management, it is impossible for the Municipal Authority to follow established plans for urban development. Budgetary constraints result in equipment deficiencies and in a lack of attention to maintaining it (SIP, 1999, p. 11).

This makes one wonder why most respondents were happy with the municipal authority and its style of governance. Probably by the year 2000, some improvements had been made, and by 2002, most respondents spoke of changes. One thing, though, was clear during the research time: the council listened to the people and made them feel their views were heard, while at the same time it was avoiding enforcing unpopular regulations. It handled its public relations well

and was also good at showing that the resources available were very limited, thus shifting the blame to the Central government.

One of the challenges for good governance in Iringa is to provide adequate services to the rapidly urbanising municipality . The population of Iringa had been almost doubling every 10 years between 1967 and 1988. In 1967 Iringa had about 31,190 inhabitants, while eleven years later in 1978; the population had increased to 57,182. In the 1988 national census, it was established that the population of Iringa municipality had grown to 84,515. By the year 2002 the population had grown to 106,668 residents (Tanzania National Website, 2004).

Table 5.1 Population Growth of Iringa

Actual Population From the Censuses					Annual Growth Rate	
Region	1967	1978	1988	2002	1978-1988	1988-2002
Tanzania	12,313,469	17,512,610	23,095,878	34,569,232	2.8%	2.9%
Iringa	31,190	57,182	84,515	106,668	4.6%	1.5%

Source: 1. Iringa Municipal Council, 2000, p. 5.
2. Tanzania National Website, The National Census
<http://www.tanzania.go.tz/census/iringa.htm> (2004)

Accountable local government is likely to increase its legitimacy as well as trust by the local residents, thus making its job of implementing development projects easier. The SIP report showed how the council was contented with its form of governance.

By 2002, Iringa Municipal Authority is able to identify and prioritise problems as well as formulate and implement policy and activities for sustainable development in partnership with other public sector parties, the private sector, and its community (SIP, 2002, p. 6).

It has taken steps to improve communication and training of facilitators who have been helping to enable members of the public to participate and gain confidence so that they may share their concerns as well as development vision with the grass root level. The document argued further:

The grassroots level, and especially marginalized groups, may not feel comfortable or capable of participating in technical and issue based Working Groups at a higher level. This risk is mitigated in community education activities and facilitator support to marginalized groups to ensure the voice of these groups to be heard in the Working Groups. This will complement the existing more official channel of communication through the ward development committees (SIP, 1999, p. 28).

The ward development committees are among the institutions that have been used to gather information about the needs of the people and to announce important policy decisions to the residents. These institutions and structures need to be effective and efficient for sustainable development to be achieved. Using the working groups derived from within various wards, Iringa municipality has increased transparency and accountability as well as the level of communication between the government and its residents. This increased accountability will also increase legitimacy, thus optimising the effectiveness of the local political system and will speed up and sustain the process of development in Iringa municipality but so far it has not improved much economically. Thus I concur with Kippin who, reviewing Kelsall's recent work in Tanzania, observed that, development success "will depend on more than institutions, and that effective government must be accompanied by tangible commitment to political action at village and district levels" (Kippin, 2005, p. 43).

6.2.2 Institutional Structures

For effective governance and efficient implementation of the development policies, the municipality has been divided into smaller units in accordance with the directives of the local government reform document and in order to fit the local setting. According to the Local Government Reform agenda (LGRA); "the previous attempts to establish uniform structures and functions for all authorities resulted in mismatching of council tasks and capacities" (The United Republic of Tanzania, 1996, p.5). Therefore, the new idea is to have structures and functions reflect local communities and their needs. However, the formal government structures would remain in place while taking on new functions. In this setting, Iringa municipality has one division. According to Iringa municipal council, the division has been divided into fourteen wards, three villages, thirteen hamlets (vitongoji) and one hundred and forty eight neighbourhoods (mitaa). "The 14 wards are Gangilonga, Kihesa, Mtwivila, Mkwawa, Mivinjeni, Kitanzini, Mshindo, Mwangata, Mwangata, Kwakilosa, Kitwiru and Ruaha" (IMC, 2000, p.5). It also has one parliamentary constituency.

These structures of local governance are essential in the process of deliberation but more crucially in the implementation of development policies. That is why it is important for the institutions using these structures to improve efficiency, because even with good structural change, ineffective institutions will not lead to sustainable development. Iringa is governed by the municipal council, which is the institution given the responsibilities of local government as stipulated in the LGL. According to the municipal documents, the municipal council is formed by 14 elected councillors, the Member of Parliament (MP) for Iringa Urban, five appointed councillors and the municipal Director, nine heads of department (appointed officers), who attend the council meetings as advisors and 14 elected ward representatives (HMI, 2002, p.1). Between 1994 and 2000, Iringa municipal council was comprised of 13 elected (CCM) councillors, 1 elected councillor from the Party of National Convention for Construction and Reform (NCCR Mageuzi), 5 nominated women councillors and the Member of Parliament, making a total of 20 representatives. The nominated seats are meant to increase the participation of women in the decision making process and to represent their interest in the municipal council. These nominated (CCM) councillors formed 25% of the elected councillors as stipulated by the Central government in an attempt to include women in the governing bodies at the local and national government. All the elected councillors were men. In the year 2000 the composition changed in that CCM regained all the seats, making Iringa effectively a de facto single party municipal council. The municipal Mayor and the Deputy Mayor are elected from among the councillors at the first full council meeting, when they also elect Committee Chairpersons and Committee Members. Whereas the Mayor holds office for five years the other office bearers are elected annually though they are eligible for re-election. The Mayor is the Chairperson of the municipal council while the municipal Director is its Secretary. The rest of the councillors and MP and representatives are ordinary members. The heads of departments, who are appointed officers, attend the council meetings only as advisors (HMI, 2002, p.1).

According to the municipal documents, the municipality is run by 3 permanent committees to ensure better governance. These are, first, the permanent committee for finance and administration, second, the permanent committee for economic affairs, health and education. The third is the permanent committee for urban planning and environment, including sustainable development (HMI, 2002, p.1). However, the daily administration of the council is under the municipal Director who receives reports from nine departments that also report to the committees. These nine departments mentioned in the municipal document above are, personnel and administration, finance, lands and natural resources, education, public health, works, economic affairs, community development and cooperative development department.

As in other local government councils in Tanzania, the institution at the centre of the development process of Iringa municipality is the Development Committee which starts at the sub-ward level (mtaa) and is supposed to meet every month. Through this means they are representing the interests of people from the grass roots level, and as a result capacity will be enhanced at all levels of government and the goals of the SIP will be achieved.

People at the mtaa level will have the knowledge skills and confidence to be able to identify and prioritise their own problems as well as propose and contribute time and labour to the implementation of solutions. When mtaas cannot solve their own problems, they will have a better relationship with ward and the municipality for all to be able to work jointly pooling resources and technical expertise to improve the environment (Sustainable Iringa Project (SIP), 1999, p.6).

This is in line with the general demands for sustainable development in most developing countries, whereby the involvement and empowerment of the low income groups constitute an essential element in the strategy, by giving ownership to them and thus motivation to carry the plans through and improve their livelihoods. In emphasising the role of the 'mtaa' in this way, Iringa has therefore not taken the grassroots institution for granted, but included it as a starting point for its development programme which is also in tune with its mission statement aimed at improving its residents' quality of life.

In its Sustainable Iringa Project document of 1999, the municipality explained how it planned to implement the Central government's vision of sustainable urban development

through the Environmental Planning and Management Process (EPM). The municipality argued that according to this program, the development impact would be sustained only if it was integrated into the existing community and administrative institutional systems. This, they argued, required constant training and technical support for the service providers, and a development strategy that targeted the vulnerable in Iringa prioritising progress in accordance with the needs of the urban poor. However the only way to target the needs of the poor in development strategy is to involve them in decision-making and implementation of the process. Iringa municipality made this part of its vision for sustainable development and stated its intention to use efficient resource allocation as one of the means for achieving it and improving community relations.

Other important institutions for sustainable development are the working groups which are meant to give opportunities to the local communities to take part in prioritising and raising awareness of the government about the local needs. Iringa municipality adopted the Environmental Planning and Management (EPM) programme for sustainable development and established working groups in 1998 after a four-day municipal consultation. Every six months a report is compiled to update the activities of the working groups and the projects that have been approved by the council for implementation. The working groups were to be composed of whoever wanted to join, but in Iringa, the ward leaders encouraged different individuals to take part in the groups, which were expected to identify local needs and try to find local solutions. In this way the local residents will be involved in all the important aspects of sustainable development, such as policy formulation, implementation and monitoring the progress. Thus the issue based working groups have taken a central role as grassroots institutions for sustainable development.

Among the social service institutions used by the municipal council in its attempt to meet its development goals of improving livelihoods in Iringa are the healthcare institutions. Iringa municipality has two major hospitals, the government owned Regional Hospital and the

privately owned Aga-Khan Hospital. The municipality also has three health centres, which cater for the needs of the urban population before they are referred to the main hospital. Furthermore, there are 27 dispensaries in the municipality. Only twelve of them are government owned while the remaining 15 are privately owned (IMC, 2000, p. 10). These are the facilities which the council has relied on to meet its healthcare goals, including the methods of dealing with HIV-AIDS. The HIV-AIDS epidemic is taken very seriously in Iringa and various responses to it are given high profile in council documents and health care plans:

“HIV/AIDS status in Iringa Municipality was also a very alarming issue. Records show that during January-September 2000, 184 people were proved positive, out of that 117 were females and 67 were males” (Iringa Municipal Council, 2000, p. 2).

The officials thought that more than 90% of the people living with HIV/AIDS in Iringa had contracted it through sexual intercourse. In response to this, the municipal authority in association with a group of non-governmental organisations that came together to work collectively on certain issues, set out four main strategies to deal with HIV/AIDS epidemic. First a clinic to deal with sexually transmitted infections (STI) was introduced. From January to September 2000, the clinic had treated 389 patients with STI. The second strategy was to set up counselling and HIV testing services at the Regional hospital, which unfortunately did not attract many people. Only 39 people had been counselled between January and September 2000 and among them 16 were HIV positive. The third strategy adopted was to introduce social support services. About 30 young people were trained as peer educators in Iringa. “The main objective of these peer educators is to provide Education on STI/HIV/AIDS prevention and control to other youths in the streets. Along with this activity sensitisation seminars were conducted for Wards and ‘Mitaa’ leaders” (Iringa Municipal Council, 2000, p.27). The fourth strategy was to establish an AIDS information centre where residents could visit and receive pamphlets newsletters, booklets and posters about how to prevent AIDS as well as how to help those who have already contracted AIDS. At the newly formed HIV/AIDS centre under Family

Planning Association of Tanzania (UMATI), about 28,020 youths were given information about the prevention of AIDS.

The municipality of Iringa has experienced the formation and significant growth of political parties. Most respondents thought the parties had a positive impact in increasing awareness among the urban population especially when the ruling party was making mistakes. The multi party system enabled residents to challenge bad development policies set forth by the ruling party CCM. However, in the 2000 elections, the opposition parties lost out to CCM in Iringa and failed to hold even the small base it had gained in the first multi party elections. This might be indicative of the electorates' dissatisfaction with the inadequate alternative policies from the opposition but also of CCMs grip of power in Iringa. It is also possible that the residents made a rational choice to stick to the winner in this case CCM whose councillors are praised by respondents as will be evident in the analysis of their view later in this chapter.

6.2.3 Resource Flow

The effective distribution of available resources is an essential component of sustainable development. Iringa was no exception in its dependence on Central government for revenue that is general in local government in Tanzania... For example in its 2001/2002 budget, Iringa municipal council expected about 1.4 billion shillings in grants from Central government out of its full budget of 1.8 billion shillings (HMI, 2002, p.24). That is equivalent to 77.77% of its budget and about 1,294 shillings per capita. The expected amount is what was proposed by the municipal council and approved by the government. Kinondoni in Dar expected about 73.45% while Moshi expected about 66% of its budget from the Central government respectively. The substantial amount of grant is an indication of how dependent on Central government the municipality has been. It also indicates that Iringa was the recipient of the highest amount of per capita grant in comparison to Kinondoni and Moshi. This dependency increases the vulnerability of the urban area, because, if the government fails to give the promised grants, the council projects would collapse, and this vulnerability gives an indication of Iringa's problems.

Revenue generation and management is an area where many residents experience the tension between the affluent groups and the low income communities. Women get paid less than men, and are more in the low-income jobs than men. Petty traders feel they have to pay tax from very little earnings. In Iringa however, the tension was not so much visibly income group related as gender oriented. “Iringa is a highly gender-differentiated community characterised by unequal and different responsibilities and opportunities for men and women” (Sustainable Iringa Project (SIP), 1999, p. 4). Women have fewer opportunities for business than men and tend to have less education than men because of the family preferences for sending male children for higher education rather than female. The tension however is hardly visible in public although there is no doubt that many women are involved in petty trading because they have no choice. They form a big part of the lower income group in Iringa where, although there are divisions, the rich did not seem to antagonise the poor as much as in Dar.

Efficiency in tax collection methods and taxation systems is necessary for local authorities in order to generate funds sufficient for service provision without alienating local actors. Iringa seems to have developed its own system of encouraging people to pay tax including gentle reminders when the time is approaching, the promise of better service for those who pay tax on time, and training for the ‘Mitaa’ chairmen and women to improve development tax. They also threatened prosecution and imprisonment for those who refuse to pay tax and were trying to avoid the officials. “Currently 20% of the development levy is retained at the ward level. Through the involvement of wards in the Working Groups there is an opportunity to influence the proportion of this levy, which could be used to fund local level activities and interventions” (SIP, 1999, p.8).

According to Nyerere, “Planning means choosing...It involves making decisions about the allocation of scarce resources, it means choosing between many desirable activities because not everything can be done at once” (Nyerere, 1973, p.53). It is through planning that efficiency in resource allocation can best be improved. Yet efficiency in managing available resources is a

condition without which sustainable urban development cannot be achieved. Iringa has had well recognised assistance from the Danish International Development Agency (DANIDA) and working with this agency has helped both the municipality and the agency to learn how to manage local resources more efficiently.

The municipality of Iringa set out to involve the local actors in the process of deliberating and identifying development priorities with a hope that it might increase their willingness and capacity to pay for improved infrastructure and delivery of services, and that would encourage them to participate more. As a result, the sustainable development goals would be achievable. However the same motivation and skills would be needed at the core of the municipal council itself. According to the Iringa Sustainable Project,

Through the implementation of the local government agenda, financial management and planning of Iringa municipality may improve. Such improvements may come about through more effective budgeting and investment planning and more efficient use of municipal resources and thus release and improve the strategic use of financial resources for environmental investments (SIP, 1999, p. 9)

The improved investment would help to increase the quality of life for the urban poor and the whole of Iringa as such. The task of improving the well being of the municipality and co-ordinating policy formulation and implementation to this effect has been given to the community development department.

In Iringa, the officials at the department of community development argued that the municipality had targeted women and youth involved in the informal economy in order to help them improve their well-being. Resources have been allocated to improve awareness and to help the vulnerable to take small loans from the community development funds or from the micro-finance bank, which was operating in close co-operation with the municipal authorities. The officials said that there were about 820 women's groups, which had benefited from this program with a membership of 3,280. They also had 629 youth groups with 2,526 members (Department of Community Development, Women and Children, 2002, p.4). Because of the trust element required in the loan guarantee, the groups were usually composed of four or five members each.

The informal economy has become part of the development process in Iringa. According to Iringa municipal council, “with the exception of a few industries, overall performance of the industrial sector has been declining due to limited market opportunities, poor industrial infrastructure and the weak economic base” (IMC, 2000, p.9). As a result, lots of people had to seek employment in the informal economy. The informal economy has been playing an important role in the growth and development of most urban areas in Tanzania. Iringa could not be exempted from this phenomenon which local governments have tended to ignore or fight against to the detriment of their own development visions. The expansion of the informal economy was also in response to service demands by residential and industrial areas for food, drinks etc. Most of the people involved in the informal economy in Iringa are young men, although there have been an increasing number of women of various ages. Iringa municipal council officials believed that women were in a worse position than men within the informal sector. “The percentage of women in poverty compared with men is greater because of the prevalence of women-headed households, lower education and institutional barriers such as social norms and informal and formal rules etc” (SIP, 199, p.4). For this reason the municipal council with the help of Danish International Development Assistance (DANIDA), made a choice to support women’s groups. Women are the main producers of food as they engage in subsistence farming in the town. The council argued that one of the project’s main aims was to give “support to the motivation of women to engage in environmental management through easing of their financial constraints with respect to investing in environmentally sound equipment and service provision and other types of financial incentives” (SIP, 1999, p. 23). Furthermore, the municipality made it part of development projects to encourage the poor to form associations and groups through which they can present their needs to the municipal authority and be considered in the process of policy formulation. Iringa municipal council also wanted to make the process of decision making transparent so that the poor may be involved in all stages of the development process. Community based services and activities that would help

the poor to build capacity, gain new skills and to improve their income were to be introduced and carried out in accordance with DANIDA policies (SIP, 1999, p. 21).

6. 2.4 Development Projects

Development projects indicate the strength and priorities of the local government in the development process, as well as the potential for success. Using the grassroots institutions is the best way to identify local needs and respond with development projects. According to Iringa's sustainable project report of January 2002 to June 2002:

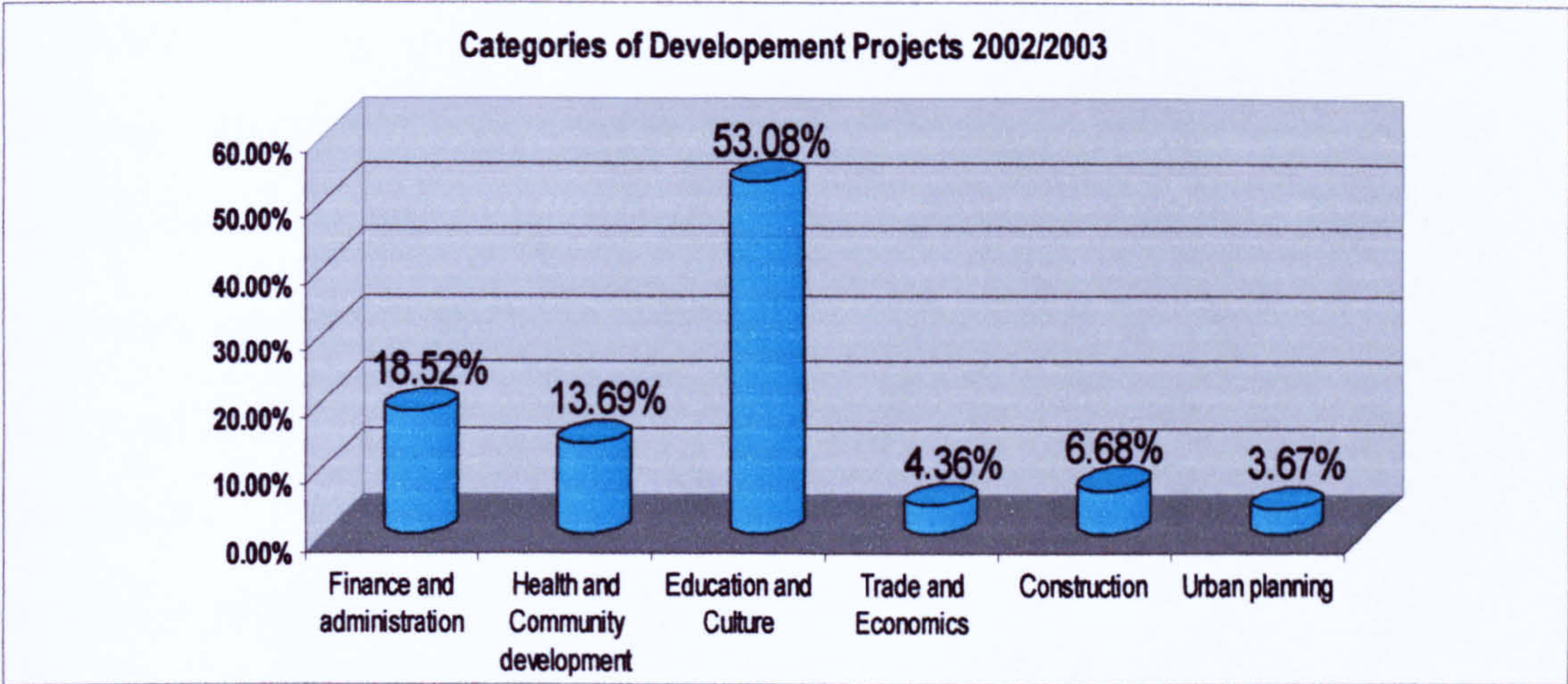
A number of projects were approved during the report period. This included demonstration projects for biogas and rain water harvesting, construction/improvement of storm water drains, sewer systems, rehabilitation and improvement of parks, construction of Bomas, tree planting and extension of a water scheme to Mkimbizi (SIP, 2002, p. 9).

Initially Iringa's working groups had identified a number of policy areas that were to be used as basic economic and development strategies. Among them were: improvement of urban agriculture, urban growth and development in general, regeneration of the urban economy and improved tourism. Furthermore, Iringa municipality listed other plans such as improvement of urban management skills that included the use of local ideas and improved participation by the various stakeholders so as to identify local needs and respond to them. Environmental awareness and resource mobilisation for sustainable development was another economic policy area identified, together with improvement of public health and sanitation as well as water sources and forest protection. The municipality also aimed to target women and the youth for poverty alleviation projects, human resource and capacity building, using small-scale production (SIP, 1999, p. 5). The working groups described above are responsible for identifying the local needs in Iringa and work in collaboration with the municipal management team and the sustainable Iringa project to monitor the implementation of the projects.

In its 2002 budget, Iringa municipal council did not clarify what percentage of its budget was to be spent on development projects as such. Instead it indicated the general estimates for the amount allocated for each of the six main departments and some of these funds would be going to development projects. Therefore, a total of 1,988,319,696 Tanzanian Shillings were

allocated to the departments (HMI, 2002, p.56), aiming at improving service provision and residents' living condition at large. The money allocated for each department and its projects will be considered as one category. Figure 6.3 indicates the distribution of funds and development projects within departments, for the year 2002/2003 by Iringa municipal council.

Figure 6.2: Categories of Development Projects; Iringa Municipal Council



Source: Calculated from Iringa municipal figures (IMC, 2002, pp.52-56).

Each of the six departments was given priorities for development projects and funds to carry them out. The first was Education and Culture which received the largest share of the funds, which is 53.08% of all the departmental development (HMI, 2002, p.54). The funds were expected to be used not only for the day to day running of the department, but also for specific projects such as purchasing school equipment, building classrooms and offices for schools, short term and long term training of officials in order to adopt the new methods of accountability for sustainable development. Other projects included providing water and electricity to schools as well as refurbishing old school buildings (HMI, 2002, p.54). Giving the department of Education such a large percentage indicates that either the council recognises the value of transformative knowledge or the officials listened carefully to the electorate or both. Education has the power to transform people's attitudes and perception of sustainable urban development, as well as how to achieve it by improving the quality of life of the stakeholders. Education gives

people skills that they need to shape and guide their own individual development pathways. It can also bring about positive change and well being for the whole of society. In Iringa municipality, there are 30 primary schools. Only one of these is privately owned. There are also 8 secondary schools and one vocational training school. The municipality has two colleges, The Tumaini University College and Kileruu Teachers Training College (IMC, 2000, P. 10).

The second category was Finance and Administration which received 18.52% of the funds allocated, as demonstrated in figure 6.2 above. In this category, the main project was to run the department. In addition there were other projects such as repairing the offices, training the councillors and equipping them with the necessary skills for decision making and implementation. Another project was to buy computers for the municipality and to create databases for increased efficiency and productivity in the municipal council (HMI, 2002, p.52).

The third category was the department of health and community development, which received 13.69% of the allocated funds. This was to be used to purchase an ambulance, buy medicine, construction of a sewage system and to repair the old system, campaigning against contagious diseases, refurbishing the hospital as well as long and short-term training for the hospital and dispensary staff. For community development one of the important projects was to fund many women and youth groups for small scale business, training them and monitoring their performance (HMI, 2002, p.53-54). The percentage allocated for healthcare is evidence that the municipality is not putting the health of its residents at the centre of development programme. Yet without adequate healthcare, productivity will not increase and the goals of sustainable development will be difficult to achieve.

The fourth category was the department of construction which was given only 6.68% of the development project funds. This was entrusted with the project of re-constructing roads in the municipality including water drainage system along the roads as identified by the working groups and refurbishing buildings. Other projects were buying electricity poles, installing them along the urban roads, and buying a brick making machine (HMI, 2002, p. 55-56).

The fifth category of budget distribution was the department of Trade and Economics which received only 4.36% of the development project funds. These were aimed at such projects as building markets for small scale businesses, refurbishing existing markets, refurbishing the butchery. Other projects included buying seedlings for planting trees to preserve the soil and improve trade environment, as well as to buy some pesticides (HMI, 2002, p.54-55). Having received such a small percentage, it is possible to link the slow growth in the economy of Iringa with the amount allocated to promote economic activities such as trade, industry & agriculture.

The sixth category of funding was the department of urban planning which was allocated 3.67% of the funding. This was given the task of overseeing a number of specific development projects such as preparing municipal gardens, preparing some tree nurseries, buying and planting tree seedlings. These were identified by the working groups. Other projects included buying technical equipment, promoting cattle vaccination and servicing areas for housing (HMI, 2002, p.56). It is difficult to see why there was no direct project aimed at promoting tourism that would help to boost the municipal economy and increase money circulation progress in the municipality. Iringa, however, set aside special funds in collaboration with DANIDA, for promoting sustainable development, under the supervision of the SIP whose main task was:

Improved land use development, upgraded unplanned and un-serviced settlements, improved solid waste management, improved management of surface water and liquid wastes, improved management of urban open spaces and improved management of markets and petty trading (SIP, 1999, p.7).

These remained at the centre of Iringa's development projects in 2002 and the task of achieving these improvements in general is essential for sustainable urban development.

6. 3 The Official View of the Development Process

The appointed officers and elected councillors' view of the development process in Iringa were most of the time consistent with the views of the residents. However, even in Iringa the official stance was not always the view presented by the opinion of the officers. Nevertheless there was consistency in that, if an official expressed a view in support or against the official

stance, they retained the same conviction even in informal conversations. The analysis will highlight these two categories, the official stance and the other opinions contradicting it in order to grasp the official understanding of the type of development Iringa has experienced and what have been the main problems encountered. The complementing and sometimes contrasting views of the officers and councillors will be given attention in addressing various issues concerning sustainable development in the municipality.

Iringa's appointed officers, 6 of whom were interviewed, unanimously agreed that the municipal council was doing a good job under difficult circumstances such as shortage of funds, slow circulation of money and low investment. They argued that they have invested in educating the officials about techniques of approaching residents and now they could persuade them to follow development initiatives, because they were part of the people who generated the ideas as planned in Vision 2025, LGRP and the NEP. One officer added that:

Here in Iringa we are governing with the people. They tell us what they want us to do and we tell them what we think is possible of what they suggested. Then we end up with decisions that are not too harsh to them. We are also very honest with our people, we tell them how little money the municipality has and we ask them to help in promoting their own development by complying with the regulations. The economy is not growing well, but this will soon change. Well, some do not and so we keep running after them, but generally, most of our residents are responding very well to the goals set by the municipality. I must tell you, we have a very good approach in our development policy and the people will be able to tell you themselves because they take part through the wards, mitaa and working groups. We need to improve, build from where we are, because there is a lot to be done for development. We also need more help from the Central government (Interview with one head of department at Iringa municipal council, September 2002).

These optimistic views were repeated so many times by different officers though with varying emphasis, that they either had to have rehearsed in advance answers to my questions, or they just were all convinced that is how things were. I think the latter is the case because a number of the officers had no idea I was coming for interviews, since I was granted my research permit and started interviewing the same day I came to the office. I also had informal conversations with some before they knew what I was doing in Iringa.

Among the councillors, the understanding was similar. They too agreed that the council had financial problems but denied there were problems in running the municipality. One stated:

I have lived in Iringa for many years. We have had problems in the past with the officers but not now. We are all working together very well. Obviously we differ in opinion on different issues, but with regard to the general approach to development policy we are all doing a good job and support each other and people have been telling me in my ward that things have changed in recent years. You know it does not happen very often that many people praise the municipality, but in this year we are happy because people have been telling us we are doing well. It does not mean we should sleep now and let the opposition take our jobs, no, we have work to do, but we are in the right direction (Interview with a councillor in Iringa municipality, September 2002).

There was 100% support for the official stance both by the appointed officers and by the elected councillors as indicated in table 5.2 below. The officials were both hopeful that things would get better and that the Iringa residents would continue supporting them. They portrayed a positive image and at the same time they wanted to show that they were not arrogantly taking the credit. They wanted the residents to take some credit too for the approach adopted. One thing not in line with this approach, however, was the fixing of blame on the Central government for not providing sufficient funding for development projects and in support of the reforms.

Table 5.2 The Views of the Officers and Councillors in Iringa

Category	Officers demanding changes		Officers satisfied with policy		Councillors demanding change		Councillors satisfied with policy		Total no of Offic.	Total No. of Coun.
Development policy	0	0%	6	100%	0	0%	3	100%	6	3
Transportation	1	17%	5	83%	1	33%	2	67%	6	3
Taxation policy	1	17%	5	83%	0	0%	3	100%	6	3
Small scale loans	2	33%	4	67%	2	67 %	1	33%	6	3
Working groups	1	17%	5	83%	0	0%	3	100%	6	3
Local and central gov. relationship	4	67%	2	33%	3	100%	0	0%	6	3
Multiparty system	0	0%	6	100%	0	0%	3	100%	6	3
Housing	5	83%	1	17%	2	67%	1	33%	6	3
Transformative education	0	0%	6	100%	0	0%	3	100%	6	3
Health care coast sharing	3	50%	2	50%	2	67%	1	33%	6	3
Water provision	5	83%	1	17%	3	100%	0	0%	6	3

Transportation was not a hot issue in Iringa. It is as if the officers and councillors took it as a matter of fact. Roads needed improvement and they were being improved, nothing much was there to talk about. Only one officer and one councillor said a higher proportion should be invested in transportation, because that might attract more investment. The officer argued that:

People here do not understand the importance of a good transportation system. I think if they did, we would have agreed to invest more in this sector. You know this but I will tell you anyway, that if you have very good roads, business men and women will be attracted to invest because they will have no problem to carry their goods. Instead we keep complaining, 'there are no investors, there are no investors.' Give them a reason to choose this place! A good transportation system is one of the good reasons (Interview with one head of department in Iringa municipality, September 2002).

This officer's view did not get any support from other officers, thus 83% of them supported the official line. They claimed these were their own opinion and did not have any doubt that the roads needed to be improved and that was happening, proportionately with the available funds.

Two councillors were of the same view but the third argued that:

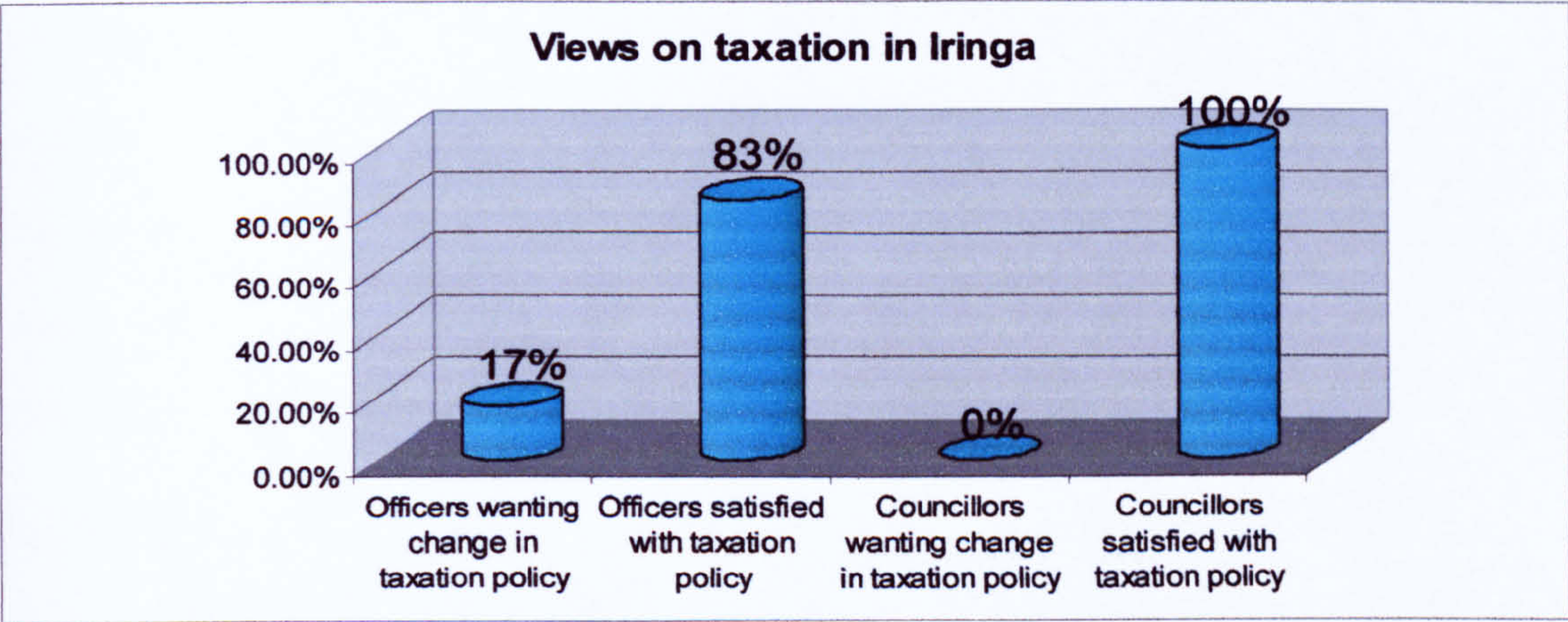
Roads are putting people off from coming to do business in this town. You see we have many potholes, although we have started to repair them. Much more has to be done here. The amount we allocated for the construction is too small but it is difficult to find consensus on this issue. Others think we are doing enough. I don't and I think they are wrong. They are the majority, so we have to keep talking and maybe in future we will convince them to follow our idea, and maybe we will have people choosing to invest here again (Interview with a councillor in Iringa municipality, November 2000).

Transportation was thus an issue for the minority of officials while the official stance won the support of most of the interviewees. Only 17% of officers and 33% of the councillors interviewed wanted a change. Iringa is a small town and its roads did not seem to be in too bad shape. However in 2002, when I came back, the roads had been improved a lot. There were still some potholes but not in the central business area.

Taxation is an issue that is normally very divisive. However, Iringa seems to have developed its own system of encouraging people to pay tax without having much conflict with the residents. In this issue 5 of the 6 officers said that the system was working well and that was the official understanding. One of them, 17% wanted changes in approach and in the complexity of taxes as shown in the table below. One of the officers who were satisfied with the current state of affairs said:

Most of the residents are paying tax and charges in the appropriate time. So we do not need to be tough with them. We have done well so far by gently reminding them when the time is approaching, and we also tell them if they pay on time, they will be given priority if they should need assistance or advice from the municipality. We have also sent the mitaa leaders for training so that they may be able to improve working relationships with the residents and the amount of development tax. We also have to threaten with prosecution, and even imprisonment, those few who do not accept to pay on time and are trying to avoid us. Some people were remanded in the past, but we do not have to do it now. We persuade them and I tell you, it works. It takes time, but it works (Interview with one head of department in Iringa municipality, September 2002).

Figure 6.3: Views on Taxation Policy in Iringa



It was accepted officially that the tax system was working and residents were happy. Some of the municipal authority officials complained during the interviews that a small group of petty traders who were active in the informal economy did not want to follow their recommendations and work in allocated areas, and have tried to disobey the regulations. However, the majority had complied with the set objectives and are now working in designated areas. The officers who wanted change argued that more tax should be spent at the ward level. “Currently 20% of the development levy is retained at the ward level. Through the involvement of wards in the Working Groups there is an opportunity to influence the proportion of this levy which could be used to fund local level activities and interventions” (SIP, 1999, p.8). The councillors did not have any doubts that the soft approach was right for Iringa and 100% supported the official line. One councillor who had strong convictions about how to communicate with the electorate said:

We are not managing to collect tax money according to our targets, but the reasons are clear; first the sub-ward leaders have low capacity and experience, second most residents have low income and therefore it is tough for them to pay the required amount of charges or fees for those selling in the markets (Interview with a councillor in Iringa municipality, September 2002).

This confirms one petty trader's claim that the officials were understanding, and had very positive views about the municipality. In Iringa, the level of alienation is very low. Iringa has managed this by improving its communication practices and by using persuasion to collect taxes. The officials argued that improved collection of taxation had increased the council's revenue and thus they would soon deliver the expected development for the residents. In July 2004 during informal conversations, it was observed that there had been some improvements.

Women and youth were the target groups for microfinance in Iringa. The municipal officials at the department of community development argued that the municipality had targeted women and youth involved in the informal economy in order to help them with small loans to improve their well-being. This issue was rather divisive in the opinions. 67% of the six officers interviewed supported the policy and the others thought that it needed changing because it was creating problems in terms of collecting the loans and suffering to innocent members of groups where a member absconded. One of the officers supporting the official line argued:

We have allocated the money for helping women and youth groups in the community. We distribute the money fairly to every group of five that meets the criteria. We provide training to the groups before we give the loans to them. However, we have to get a report from the ward chairperson, that the group has fulfilled all the conditions including having reliable and trustworthy members. We are still trying to improve awareness and to help the vulnerable to take these small loans from the community development funds or from the micro-finance bank, which is operating in close co-operation with us. We have helped nearly four thousand people since we started (Interview with one head of department in Iringa municipality, September 2002).

Two of the councillors did not accept that the current situation was good for the municipality or for the people taking loans. One of them said; "for us it is a headache to collect the money from the borrowers and for them it is even worse if for various reasons they are unable to pay on time" (Interview with a councillor in Iringa municipality, November 2000). Generally this was an issue where opinions varied. Furthermore, to invest in the well-being of the poor requires efficiency in monitoring the implementation process and in managing available resources, which is a condition without which sustainable urban development cannot be achieved. Iringa has had well recognised assistance from (DANIDA). This has given Iringa improved capacity and efficiency, though it was acknowledged that limitations still remain.

The working groups described previously are responsible for identifying the local needs in Iringa and work in collaboration with the municipal management team and the sustainable Iringa project to monitor the implementation of the development projects. All the six officers and three councillors interviewed in Iringa thought that the working groups were an excellent development for the municipality. In this way the local residents are involved in all the important aspects of sustainable development, such as policy formulation, implementation and monitoring progress. However in terms of their composition, one officer had ideas rather different from the rest and from the official line. In his own words:

The plan to have working groups is very good and I have always supported it. However, I do not support the way they are dominated by those with good jobs and secondary education or more. We should find a way of increasing the number of people who ended in standard seven. That is the only way we will find the views of this group which is the majority of petty traders in Iringa (Interview with one head of department in Iringa municipality, September 2002).

The generally accepted idea was that working groups in Iringa were all inclusive and there was no single dominant group. However, according to this officer that was not the case. The other officials claimed these groups have been transformative in giving the local people the power to identify problems and help to set development priorities. This received a loud echo from the respondents interviewed in Iringa both in 2000 and 2002.

The municipality officials argued that, according to this programme, the development impact would best be sustained if working groups were integrated into the existing community and administrative institutional systems. One of the councilors said:

The only way to make this idea of working groups continue without failing is to make sure that each ward has members involved in the working groups and the mitaa representatives are part and parcel of this. It is the only way I know of making sure the poor people and those with less education can play an active role (Interview with a councillor in Iringa municipality, November 2000).

However the best way to target the needs of the poor in development strategy is to involve them in decision-making and implementation of the process. Iringa Municipality made this part of its vision for sustainable development and planned to use efficient resource allocation as one of the means for achieving it and improving community relations. Furthermore, officers and

councilors agreed the reform were necessary to equip the council with relevant skills to respond to its peoples' needs.

The relationship with the Central government and its agents such as the regional administration was seen as good. A number of individual officers and councillors argued that there was good cooperation with the regional administration and that made it easy for them to use the police and the courts if it was deemed necessary. However, four of the six officers wanted changes and would have preferred if the police and the local court could be under Iringa municipal authority rather than under the regional authority and district commissioners. Nevertheless, most officials were more concerned with the peoples' demand for improved service provision and involvement in the decision-making process. Some of the officers thought that, theoretically, the local authorities had powers to function independently within a given policy framework but the reality is such that the local government still had to wait for government ministers to approve their plans. Generally though, the council officials were convinced that they had been given considerable powers to prioritise development issues as they deemed necessary to meet the needs of Iringa residents:

Now we have the power to make local decisions and implement them. This transfer of power back to the local government has helped to improve relationship between us and the Central government because we try to meet the residents' needs while working within the limits of national policy (Interview with one head of department in Iringa municipality, September 2002).

An issue that was irritating to Iringa municipal council officials was the fact that it took a long time for their by-laws to be approved by the Central government. One councillor lamented;

Why should it take two years to approve a by-law? By then if things are changing fast locally, you may have to formulate another law on the same problem (Interview with a councillor in Iringa municipality, November 2000).

It is not just in Iringa municipality where the formulation of by-laws by urban councils has been very slow but in the rest of Tanzania as well. One officer said:

The process of formulating by-laws and approval by the government takes a long time. Sometimes we have to wait for long months, other times years. You see, they are never in a hurry in Dar es Salaam (Interview with one head of department in Iringa municipality, November 2000).

A councillor also added that,

The Central government either has too much work and is unable to decentralise the role of approving the by-laws to the regions, or it is delaying approval to show that it is still in charge of the development process (Interview with a councillor in Iringa municipality, November 2000).

Either way it was not helping to improve efficiency or the relationships necessary in building the partnership of development that is vital in sustaining urban development. The officials in Iringa had the same complaints as residents about the partnership for development. They argued that there was little investment in the municipality by either the Central government or the private sector, thus leading to a slow circulation of money which in turn kept production low and profits even lower.

The municipality, though, had its own problems when it came to issuing bylaws. For example, Iringa municipal council had not made a clear policy for communities to be actively involved in the management of public land in order to slow down the tradition of cutting trees without replacing them. Furthermore, the council had not issued by-laws to make residents follow the stipulated housing regulations instead of the haphazard construction of homes in unplanned areas. These are areas of great political sensitivity; or rather areas where by-laws would shift the blame from the central to the local government and enforcing them would be very unpopular. Therefore, even if the council had been given all the powers it needed, such areas may not have been dealt with.

One of the councillors said that the power transfer from Central government was real this time unlike the past attempts for decentralisation, but the reforms were rather too slow. Generally, the councillor and his interviewed colleagues supported the official position that Iringa was in the process of implementing the local government reforms for the benefit of its residents. He argued that:

The reforms have given us, the elected representatives, more authority and in the near future we will have the power to hire the officers, and to fire them if they do not perform according to expectations of the Council. Not that we have problems with them at the moment. No, we do have a good working relationship with the officers (Interview with a councillor in Iringa municipality, September 2002).

The officers also supported the reforms and added that their working relationship with the elected representatives had been good after some difficult past years. One summed up opinions:

It is true that our relationship with the honourables (waheshimiwa) has improved and is very good at the moment. I think that the reforms are helping us because many of the councillors have been given a chance to attend educative seminars and training. That was vital. Now most of them know what they are talking about and that removes conflict with us. They now understand more why we present arguments that people might not like, but have potential for development (Interview with one head of department in Iringa municipality, September 2002).

Some of the officers still thought that the councillors were pushing some issues without having sufficient knowledge of their economic viability because they were driven by their desire to please the electorate. Both the councillors and officers agreed that the local actors, including the marginalised poor who are still struggling to make ends meet, had been more directly involved in consultations and their ideas had been taken on board in the development process. That has improved the council's relationship with the majority of its residents. Both councillors and officers said that they had to do more to improve communication between the local government and service-providing agencies such as the electric company, post office, and telecommunication and between these stakeholders themselves. They were clear in their view that it was through joint effort and not by working in isolation that their goals of sustainable development would be achieved. Perhaps the small size of Iringa where most people know each other helped improve relations, but also the fact that most of the officers came from other regions while the councillors are local politicians meant that the officers had to find a way of working professionally thus involving the local actors in the process.

The issue of the multiparty system and the contribution of opposition parties generated great interest from some of the officials. For example all the 6 officers and 3 councillors said the system was very good for development. One councillor said:

The one opposition councillor before 2000 elections helped the council to abandon a car park project at one ward in Iringa. I had personally opposed the idea but CCM my party, crushed my opposition without thinking much about it. But the party could not simply crush the opposition councillor's views, because he had demanded a research before the decision was taken or else his party would boycott the council meetings and issue a formal complaint against the municipal council. When we sent our engineer to do the research they found that the area was not suitable. If it was not for the opposition member's challenge, the thorough research would not have been carried out and Iringa municipality, and all of us would have been embarrassed if we started the project and realised later it would not work (Interview with one head of department in Iringa municipality, September 2002).

In Iringa it was clear, therefore, that the role opposition parties had played was very helpful. At the same time, some of the officers and councillors thought that, although the opposition member had made a positive contribution at times, most of the time, he was wasting time for the council. Somehow though, it was as if CCM officials were missing the opposition when it was no longer there, while at the same time they resented the opposition party representative when he was challenging them on various developmental issues.

Iringa municipality officials believe that housing is one of the most important and basic human needs. The Sustainable Iringa Project noted that about 60% of all the population live in the unplanned areas that have little or no service provision, poor sanitation and are overcrowded (IMC, 2000, p. 10). In the 1999 sustainable Iringa project document, the council gave the reasons for the increase of housing in unplanned areas:

Cost and size stipulated by current regulations mean that legal settlement is not an affordable option for most of the population. Households therefore resort to "squatting" in unplanned areas where they are free to build what they can afford irrespective of the resulting negative impact upon the environment (SIP, 1999, p.11).

The proliferation of illegal settlements is undesirable for the council not simply because of the low standard housing but also because of the many problems associated with such settlements including poor access and hazardous waste. 83% of the officers said that housing policy needed to change. One of them suggested:

Although we do not have enough money to invest on affordable accommodation, we need to do more to service areas for housing and we should do that as a service so that the serviced land does not cost too much. Otherwise, illegal settlement is what is affordable and what people will carry on settling in (Interview with one head of department in Iringa municipality, September 2002).

Two of the councillors also wanted a change of policy. Therefore, most councillors and officers interviewed thought that such a trend was not consistent with the sustainable development goals. However, they agreed that, unless there were radical improvements in the residents' income or massive investment from the government, and given the fact that the municipal council has very limited resources and a poor economic base, the trend was set to continue for a long time.

When the government reintroduced free primary education everyone was happy. However, the complaints then shifted to the poor quality of education in the municipality. In response more money was given to the education department than any other. In fact 53% of the departmental development funds went to education. All the officers and councillors gave full support to the policies. The education officer said:

Education is a national policy. However, we have a chance now to make small amendments to suit our needs. For example we have had only 73% of standard one enrolment and this is lower than the national average of about 80%. That is why we have started a campaign to make sure every child who should be starting school is registered. As a result we need more money and investment in teachers and good classrooms for the pupils. We have got the investment and we will put it to work. Things should improve soon. If you come here in two years, I will be able to tell you we have increased the number of pupils enrolled and the standard of education has not been compromised, but rather increased. You understand that it is the poor who are not sending their children to school and yet they want their children to have a good future. We need to do a lot more for them and their children (Interview with one head of department in Iringa municipality, September 2002).

Though there was no shortage of teachers, there has been a shortage of about 54 classrooms and teachers' houses. There was a shortage of books, tables, chairs and cupboards. Parents have been asked to contribute in every academic year, but their contribution has not been able to meet the high demand.

Healthcare constituted an important aspect of Iringa's development programme. According to the officials, the high rate of infant mortality combined with other diseases affecting children had drawn attention to the ward health committees and these have been given support to help with family counselling and immunisation. By September 2002, about 81% of the target focus group had received immunization (IMC, 2000, p. 16). This, for the officials, was evidence that healthcare was important and that they were working to deliver their promise to reduce mortality among children in Iringa through vaccination and education for the communities

involved. 50% of the officers and 67% of councillors wanted some change of policy though; because they suggested that the poor in Iringa were suffering because of the cost of medication.

One of them said,

We know that the poor petty traders would suffer at home without going to hospital because they cannot pay. We also know that we want to help everyone, but have no money to do so. Yet we make other choices and I think we should choose free healthcare for the most common illness such as malaria. I think this will save money, because less people would be off from work, or trade and income would increase (Interview with one head of department in Iringa municipality, September 2002).

This has been part of the municipality's effort to reclaim the initiative on healthcare and to direct sustainable development towards the desired end.

About the shortage of water in Iringa, 5 of the 6 officers interviewed wanted a change of policy while one defended the prevailing situation, blaming the financial problems. All the councillors however, wanted changes so that safe water could be made available to most residents. One of them said passionately:

We have a situation where only a minority of our residents have safe water. At the same time we are losing a lot of water through leakage. I should say money is lost daily through the leakage. Or should I say 'water is money' as the British say 'time is money'. On a serious note, you can imagine if we are losing about 30% or 40% of water, how many families would benefit from that? How many would save time and money? We have to do something about it. Unfortunately not everyone agrees with me on this issue (Interview with one head of department in Iringa municipality, September 2002).

The authority explained the situation of water shortage in its review document arguing that; "In general the water supply and sewerage systems in Iringa municipality are old, inadequate and poorly functioning and cannot cope with the increasing demand. As a result, water delivered is not enough and sometimes is of poor quality" (IMC, 2000, p.7). The municipality does not explain why 40% of the water was lost and why the old system has not been repaired, nor does it explain whether the cost incurred by the loss would turn into financial savings if the repairs were carried out through a loan. Management and monitoring of water development projects seems to have been ineffective.

4. 4 Views of the Electorate of the Development Process

The respondents interviewed in Iringa included 18 petty traders and 9 others with a variety of occupations interviewed in their homes, making a total of 27 respondents. 6 of these were interviewed in the low income wards of Mwangata and Kitanzini, 3 in each. 3 were interviewed in the more affluent upper middle income ward of Gangilonga. The opinions of the interviewees in Iringa were very different from those of Moshi and Kinondoni. For example as indicated in table 5.3 below, 19 of the 27 (70%) of the respondents interviewed in Iringa were positive that Iringa municipal council was doing a good job, because it involved them in meetings and used the ward and sub-ward or *Mitaa* leaders to learn about their aspirations and needs. Among these were 16 of the 18 petty traders, one of whom said:

All the time when something new is about to come up, we already know... even if it is from the Central government, because our mtaa leader comes and explains that there will be changes coming up and asks what we think about the changes. If anything I would say the municipal leaders respect us a lot. We can also go to see them in office any time (Interview with a Petty trader at Kitanzini Market in Iringa September 2002).

19% of the respondents said that the municipality was not doing a good job because the council could not tackle difficult issues such as the introduction of industries to improve the economy and construction of big tourist hotels in Iringa. One said:

If the municipality was doing a good job as it claims all the time, why are we having such a poor economy? Why do they say we have low circulation of money? Why don't we have big tourist hotels here or important industries? Ruaha national park is near here, and yet we hardly have tourists. I think they just know how to talk nicely and make those who do not think critically believe that they are doing well. Where is development in Iringa? Factories are closing down, for example the maize mill, it is now gone and so are jobs. The council, at best, is doing nothing, at worst it is not telling us the truth, and sadly, the people believe. We have no achievement to be proud of (Interview with one Iringa resident at Gangilonga, November 2000).

This interviewee had studied up to form four and was very articulate. He did not have a job at the time and was staying with his parents who were at work during the interview. 11% of the 27 respondents did not know or did not want to comment. Therefore, the majority supported the official line that the municipal authority was doing a good job and added that the municipal officials were very approachable and did not bother people unless they failed to pay the required charges and tax.

Generally the majority of the respondents thought that the municipal council was good at distributing the very limited resources available as fairly as they could. As such Iringa seems to have been attempting to apply the principles of good governance because it has been concerned with sustaining urban development, reducing poverty and increasing the quality of life for its urban poor residents.

Table 5.3 Views of the Electorate in Iringa

Category	Supporting official stance		Against official stance		Do not know about it		Total	
Municipal performance	19	70%	5	19%	3	11%	27	100%
Investment in transportation	17	63%	10	37%	-	-	27	100%
Managing resources	21	78%	6	22%	-	-	27	100%
Taxation	17	63%	10	37%	-	-	27	100%
Representation	22	81%	5	19%	-	-	27	100%
Land allocation	20	74%	7	26%	-	-	27	100%
Government Reforms	20	74%	6	22%	1	4%	27	100%
Small scale loans	23	85%	3	11%	1	4%	27	100%
Participation	24	89%	3	11%	-	-	27	100%
Accountability to electorate	18	67%	7	26%	2	7%	27	100%
Central Gov. Planning	15	56%	10	37%	2	7%	27	100%
Municipal Planning	22	81%	5	19%	-	-	27	100%
Transformative education	23	85%	4	15%	-	-	27	100%
Housing	19	70%	8	30 %	-	-	27	100%
Health care	20	74%	7	26%	-	-	27	100%
Water provision	8	30%	19	70%	-	-	27	100%

With regard to the transportation system, 63% of the respondents said that the municipality had made the right decisions and was improving the roads. One added:

A few years ago, these roads were completely ruined, but now they have been repaired and we have a bus from Kihesa right up to Mwangata. I used to walk down there and now it is easy. I save time and can do some other tasks when I came home from work. I have started rearing chickens to sell. When I had to walk to work and back, I could not do this. I came home completely exhausted. That is why I know the municipal council has done very well with transportation (Interview with one Iringa resident at Mwangata ward, September 2002).

37% of the respondents did not agree. They argued that the roads should be better than they were. “It is only the main road that is good” said one respondent. Another added that, “there has been very little done about roads really”. Most of those who were not happy with the state of the roads argued that if the roads were better the economy of Iringa would improve as well. One rather vocal respondent said that:

Roads in this town are not good at all. Have you been to Dar recently because if you talk of good roads, there you see them, nice roads all over the city. Here only one road is good. All small roads are still in a bad shape. So this talk of transportation being good is empty talk. Where are the government buses? None! And the private buses? Yes, they are helping, but they are charging us a lot of money and they are overcrowded. How good is that? Not nice at all (Interview with a petty trader near Mwangata market, September 2002).

It seems there were conflicting views, both acknowledging some improvement in Iringa’s transportation system, and some in agreement with the municipal authority, while others rather critical. The majority of the respondents, though, were happy with the prevailing situation and suggested that the authority had done well on transportation.

Efficiency in resource management is one essential aspect of sustainable development goals. As stated already, in Tanzania, urban and district councils have been criticised for being poor at managing resources. One would expect to hear complaints about this from the municipal residents as was the case in Kinondoni and Moshi. However in Iringa the picture was very different. Only 22% of the respondents argued against the official stance and said that their municipal council was ‘poor’ at managing resources but no one suggested it was ‘very poor’. One of them from the rather upper middle income ward of Gangilonga said:

Iringa is a poor municipality, but we see the resources being left to rot all the time. My example is the fact that the street lights are most of the time broken and the council does not repair them. Also many petty traders are invading the central business area and it takes months of lost revenue to the businesses before the council does anything about it. That is not how a good manager behaves. I manage my own business and I act immediately when things go wrong or need my attention. The municipal council does not (Interview with one Iringa resident at Gangilonga ward, November 2000).

That, however, was the minority verdict about the municipal management skills, because 16 respondents (59%) said that the council was a 'good' manager while the remaining 19% said it was doing 'very well' or it was excellent. Therefore in fact 78% agreed with the Iringa municipal council and gave a positive response about its management of resources. This was rather unexpected especially because it was the more affluent ward that gave negative response while the low income wards and petty traders gave a positive response. One respondent said:

In my humble opinion, a good manager knows his clients well and keeps trying to find ways of learning what they need, and that is exactly what the municipality is doing. We demanded more emphasis on education, they spend more in the area now than before, despite having little resources. We wanted the road from the hilltop to Kihesa to be repaired and it has been reconstructed. We wanted more buses, now we have a bus every half an hour. That is good management I would say, would you not? Also a good manager works well with his employees so they present a good image to the clients, as far as I know, the municipality and the mitaa leaders are all happily presenting issues to us and we give them feedback. And after sometime, they act on them (Interview with one Iringa resident at Kitanzini ward, September 2002).

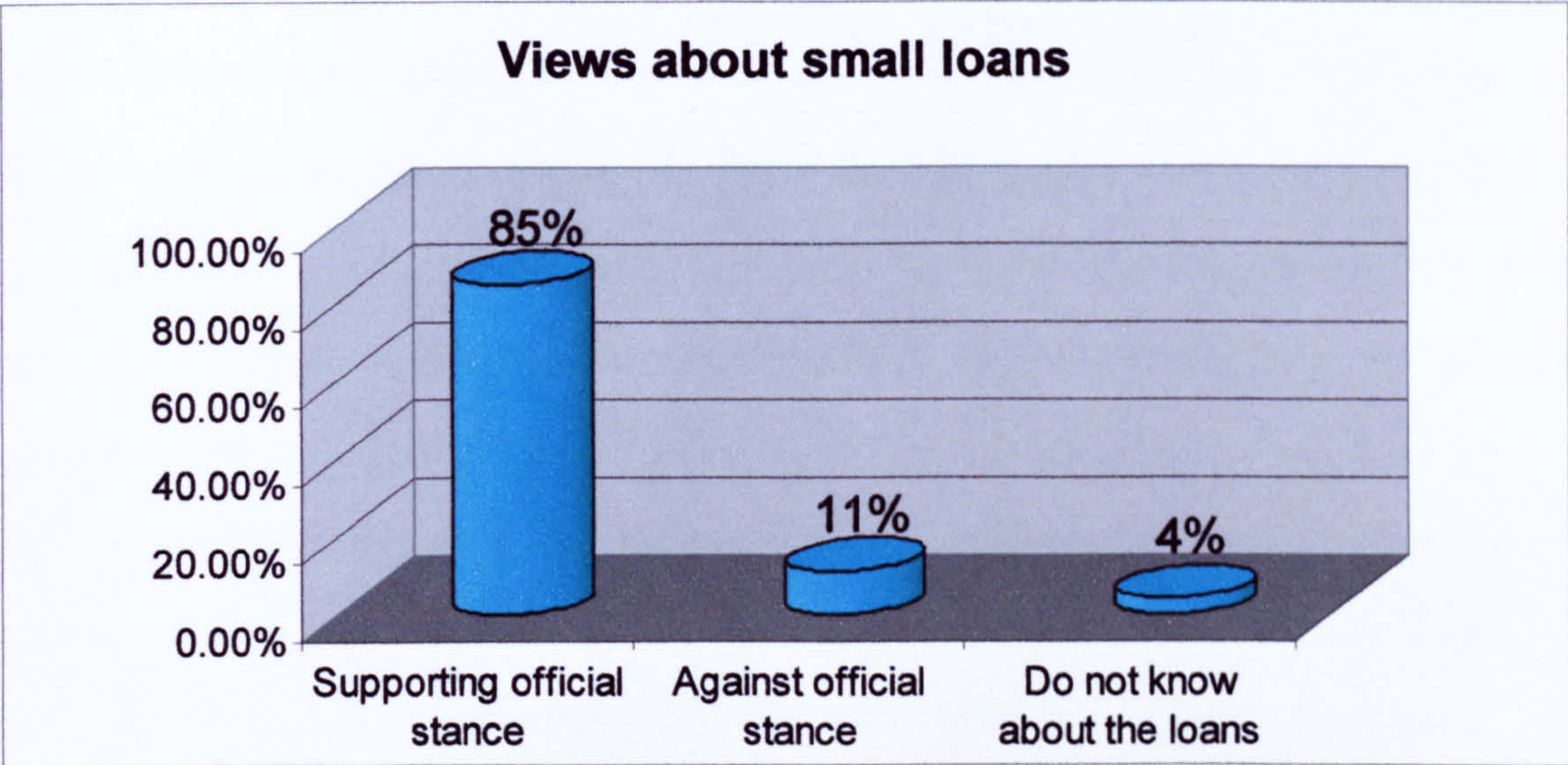
This respondent was a young entrepreneur owning a shop selling clothing, shoes and other items. He was expecting to open another shop soon after. Not every respondent was as fluent as this one, but his views summarised their opinions.

The success of sustainable urban development in the developing world requires efficiency in generating funds through local taxation. Iringa municipal council has not been generating sufficient funds. That is why it is so dependent on the Central government. However the officials insisted that their approach was working and improvements were under way. 37% of the respondents said that the tax system was very complex and did not support the municipal view that the tax burden was fair and applied equally to all. However, 63% said that despite the complexity, they knew how much they were supposed to pay because their sub-ward chairman had told them clearly and explained the importance of tax as well as the possible consequences for those who would refuse to pay. They said that if they presented their case to the leaders and proved that they wanted to pay, but due to their current situation were unable to pay for a certain period of time, they would be listened to. One said:

Last year I was ill and was unable to sell in the market for a few months. According to the law I should have paid the rent for the table though it was not used, but having the genuine case presented to the leadership, I was allowed to go back without paying the rent for the time I was absent due to my illness. I must add that people are sensitive here. One man killed himself some years ago, because he felt humiliated in public by a police woman who slapped him for resisting being arrested (Interview with a petty trader at Kitanzini market, September 2002).

He praised the system and thought the municipal council was doing a very good job indeed. On this issue, it seems that Iringa scores points once more and it was impressive how the council managed to get public opinion on its side despite cultural sensitivity. Possibly efficiency was compromised to foster good relations and a positive image, although much more research would be needed to clarify this.

Figure 6.4: Views on the Small Loans (Microfinance)



On the issue of poverty alleviation through funds given in form of micro loans, as stipulated by the Community Development Policy (CDP), Iringa presented a very different image from the other research areas. In Iringa, most of the respondents had received information given by the municipality with regard to small loans. In fact, only 2 of the 27 respondents (7%) did not know much about the availability of community development funds and the work of the micro-finance institution. One said that, “I did not know that anyone can apply for the loans”. It emerged in the interview though that he was new to Iringa and was still in the process of settling. The majority of respondents knew about the scheme and had either taken part in it, or

knew people who had. Only 11% of the respondents argued against the official view and claimed that having a relative or a friend in the municipal office would be a factor in obtaining a loan. 85% of the respondents supported the official view. The respondents believed that the process was fair and the same standards applied for all. One of them summed up their views:

When I got involved with the project, I approached my mtaa chairman and explained to him what my group wanted to do. He asked if I fully trusted the other four members of the group and many other questions. Then he arranged a meeting with all of us and explained the procedure. We told him we would do as the council wished. Then he presented our case and we were waiting for a few months. Then we were given a short training about how to run our business in the market, buying vegetables from farmers and selling them in the market. After some time we were given the money and we have been making very small profit ever since, but have not had problems within the group or with the authority. We did not know anyone at the municipal office. We just needed help and we got it, so we are very happy (Interview with a trader at Kitanzini market, September 2002).

The woman selling vegetables seemed very confident about the procedures and about her business. Her colleagues added a few points in support of what she said. One added, “as long as you make a formal request you will be included in the waiting list and when funds are available your group will be considered”. However one respondent dreaded the condition attached to the loan that, if one group member stopped repayments, then all the other members would be forced to pay his or her loan back. She said:

My friend had a very good group and they were making a lot of money selling buns in the market. Then disaster visited them. One woman moved to Mbeya town without telling anyone in her group. My friend was the leader of her group and she spent all the profit made and even sold things from her house to track the woman and bring her back from Mbeya. The woman’s relatives bailed her out and she escaped from being remanded. She had gone for a family funeral and felt she did not want to go back to Iringa. This is a bad scheme. I think nobody should join it. The intention is probably good, but as I have seen it at work, I think it does not work. It ruined my friend’s life (Interview with a petty trader at Gangilonga, September 2002).

It was for this reason that this respondent vowed to struggle on her own and not seek any loan from the local government or micro-finance institutions. The local micro-finance bank PRIDE’s official confirmed that they too had similar problems with repayment. He insisted though that generally there were no problems. Probably this calls for more research about the suitability of the scheme within a given set of cultural values. The municipal authorities confirmed her story but they also argued that such was a rare and much regretted case. However, they still insisted

that the method was meant to guarantee that each group would pay the money back and in this way provide opportunity for other groups to benefit from the scheme.

The religious leaders at Kihesa Catholic cathedral said that the micro-loans were helping many people but also were giving problems to some families. The same views came from the Iringa mosque leaders interviewed. Also although the procedures were clear that only those who could demonstrate that they are able to pay back the loans would qualify, they suggested no one knows to what extent this criterion was used to eliminate peacefully those who had problems with the authority. However the Iringa NGO cluster official thought on balance so far the good brought by the loans outweighed the problems. Thus it should be promoted, and he commended the municipal officials for a job well done.

The allocation of land for petty traders was rather smooth according to the respondents in Iringa where the authority's policy was to educate and persuade them to move rather than the use of force. As a direct result of this policy, 74% of the 27 respondents supported the official view, while only 7, complained because they had been moved from the central business areas where they had been generating better income. One of a small minority complained that they had been targeted by the authorities and had been moved often from place to place arguing:

I am not happy that they moved me from the centre and again from Mwangata market. However, maybe I should not complain much because I had not been able to pay my rent over there for many months. My brother was not well and I was looking after him, thus the business did not succeed (Interview with a fruit vendor, along Tosamaganga Road near Mwangata market, November 2000).

Generally there were no major complaints against the council in Iringa. Most residents did not think the officials were corrupt or favoured certain individuals. As such, Iringa municipal council seems to have struck a very good accord with its residents and has neither escalated income group tensions nor been seen to favour the rich.

The majority of the people had faith in the local authority and had raised hopes that the reforms currently underway would give the municipal authority more powers to help them improve their living conditions. In fact 74% favoured the official line about the need for the ongoing local government reform, 22% did not support the official line and 4% said they did not

know about the reforms. The majority, thus, only feared that the dream of having a strong municipal council able to deal with local issues might not come true because they were not confident that Central government would be prepared to spend much money in support of ideas that had been identified locally.

In Iringa, about 19% of the respondents thought that the ruling party CCM was doing rather badly and should be replaced, arguing that political representation was poor. 22 of the 27 respondents (81%) suggested that the party was doing just fine and that general political representation was good. 56% of the respondents argued that the multiparty system was very good for the country and for the municipality because it gave them a chance to complain and make their voices heard. While the rest said that it was not multiparty that was crucial for their development but whether the local institutions such as wards and 'mitaa' did their job properly or not.

Generally, participation in the development process was high in Iringa. Most of the respondents claimed to be satisfied with the level of consultation between their sub-ward or neighbourhood leaders and the municipal council. They were also happy to attend the sub-ward meetings and make their voices heard. In Iringa, as indicated in the figure 6.6 below, only 11% of those interviewed had never attended any meeting arranged by their sub-ward leaders.

Reasons given for non-participation were:

I have too much to do to go to the meetings. However, my father goes and tells me what is going on and thus I do not have to be there. May be in future I will attend because I do like to but have no time (Interview with a petty trader at Gangilonga, November 2000).

One petty trader said that the meetings were not of much use for him. Even those uninvolved respondents did not talk negatively of the council or the sub-ward leadership. Instead, they thought that the leaders worked hard to try to get views from every individual. One recalled:

I remember how our mtaa leader has been visiting every home whenever there is an important issue arising from the council meetings and wanted those who had not attended the sub-ward meetings to give their views as well. I do not know if all the wards have the same experience here in Iringa, but I believe that in all wards the leadership is encouraging residents to give their opinion (Interview with one Iringa resident at Mwangata, September 2002).

19% of the respondents had been attending the meetings irregularly although they believed firmly that it was important for them to give their views at the sub-ward level as well as in higher levels. One general criticism was that women did not take an active part in the meetings because of timidity arising from cultural limitations as one rather critical woman argued:

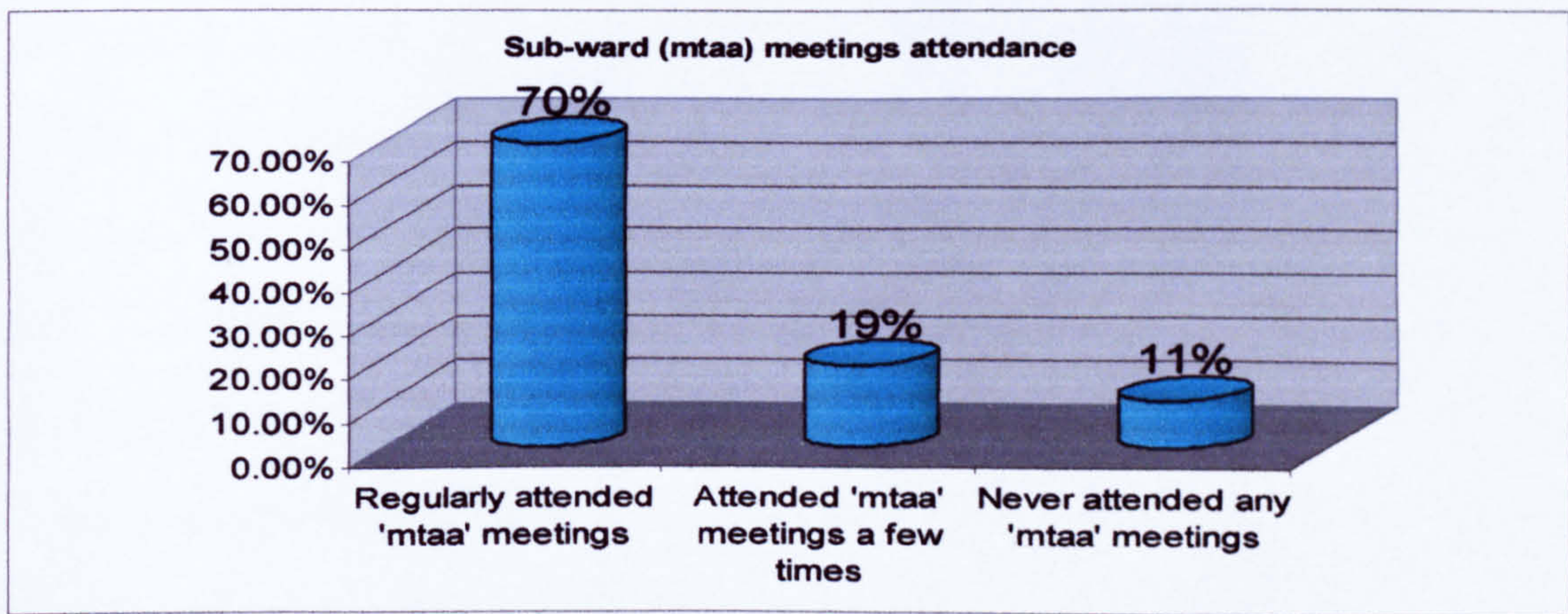
Women are attending meetings regularly but they hardly ever speak. They always wait for their husbands to speak instead of giving their own opinions. We need to overcome this, because they are the majority in meetings and playing a vital role in the family life and especially in the development their families (Interview with one Iringa resident at Gangilonga, November 2000).

However, another woman respondent said that:

Although most of us women in Iringa are not used to speaking in public, we instruct our husbands well before they go for the meeting and many times we attend the meetings to make sure that the husbands are not changing our views as we told them at home (Interview with a petty trader at Kitanzini, September 2002).

70% had been attending the meetings regularly and were happy to have spent that time discussing development issues. Only 11% had not attended any meetings and only 1 person considered that the meetings would not be useful. In the meetings particular communal actions, such as community involvement in cleaning the local area, were organised and were successful. Thus I concur with Kippin who, reviewing Kelsall’s recent work in Tanzania, observed that development success “will depend on more than institutions, and that effective government must be accompanied by tangible commitment to political action at village and district levels” (Kippin, 2005, p. 43).

Figure 6.5: Views on Participation in Sub-ward (mtaa) Meetings



Accountability has been shown to be a controversial issue in Dar and Moshi, but in Iringa it was not very contentious. 67% of the respondents in Iringa thought that the municipal council was effective and considerably accountable. One respondent said:

This year the council informed us about the budget and how much money was invested in service provision and how it was spent. I am, for example, pleased that more money will be spent on Education. We have now seen increasing accountability and flexibility in the way the municipal council operates (Interview with one Iringa resident at Gangilonga, November 2000).

The respondent was a lady who was also a member of one of the Working Groups and was convinced that the groups had increased transparency and accountability as well as the level of communication between the government and its residents.

Iringa residents suggested that the Central government was good at planning. That is why that there has been an improvement in economic growth in Tanzania, manifested by greater availability of goods. 56% of the respondents supported this official view. Most of them said that Iringa had received a small share of this growth. 37% did not think the government was any good and 7% did not know. One argued:

For those of us who are not rich, it is difficult to have big benefit from a good economy, because we cannot afford the goods in shops. We see them, but can't buy them. The only thing we could somehow say is helping us to have a tiny share in the good economy is the small loan for poverty alleviation which is helping us to overcome many problems. This is the only thing I can think about as having a share in the growing economy (Interview with one Petty trader Mwangata, November 2000).

The municipal authority is working hard to alleviate poverty and improve the quality of life for its residents. This image presented by the urban poor and officials is consistent with the vision of sustainable development focusing on improved quality of life.

22 of the 27 respondents (81%) in Iringa municipality knew about the council's goals and the intended outcomes, and were happy with the council's development planning. Only 19% were aware of the aims but were not happy with the way the council had been operating. Although most of the respondents pointed out that the services were still poor, they were happy to see some improvement. Also, they appreciated the presence and contribution of DANIDA in the municipality which was given as a complement to the municipal authority. One said:

We know from our leaders that the money received from the Central government is not enough for all the development projects and day-to-day running of the municipality. I think that it is a shame that such a nice town should be neglected by the Central government. They know our town does not have much economic growth and they do not invest here or send help. That is why we are not making much progress (Interview with a Petty trader at Kitanzini, November 2000).

For this respondent, it was clear that Iringa's development problems were directly linked to neglect by the Central government, which he thought did not consider the town to be of great developmental significance. Some of the more articulate respondents suggested that the municipality had little or no leverage over its own development because it depended too much on Central government assistance. Furthermore, they thought, the dependency was created by the Central government itself in order to increase its leverage over all local authorities.

An overwhelming 85% of respondents in Iringa supported the official idea of spending 53% of the departmental development funds on education. Only 15% were opposed and pointed out that the money would not all be managed well by the department. 63% of the respondents had fresh memories of the educational opportunity they or their relatives had lost when the government introduced tuition fees for all levels of education. One respondent reiterated the story of her younger sister:

My little sister was just about to start standard five when my parents were told that, if they could not pay the tuition fee, she would have to drop from school. At that time my parents had just lost their small trade when robbers attacked our home and stole all their money and goods. My father cried while trying to get a loan and could not. As a result my sister was thrown out of school despite the fact that she was one of the best performing students. A few years later my poor little sister ended up in prostitution because of frustration and lack of education. It should never have happened. She should never, never have been denied the possibility of primary education (Interview with one Iringa resident at Mwangata, September, 2002).

The last sentence of this respondent was said in tears. She could not think why such a bright little girl as her sister could have been denied the opportunity to develop herself and fulfil her potential, thus ending at the lowest level in the society. The respondent was happy to see increased spending in education for the future of Iringa.

70% of respondents supported the official view on housing and agreed that the local government could not afford to build affordable accommodation but should service areas and change regulations. 30% did not agree. On the other hand, 81% of the respondents in Iringa

lived in rented accommodation while about 11% lived with relatives who had their own houses.

Only 7% of the interviewees owned their homes. One of them said:

We have no choice but to live in rather crowded homes and sometimes in areas that have no security, although there is no shortage of houses here. I just cannot afford a better house. If I had a good income, I would move out and live in a nice area (Interview with Petty trader at Kitanzini market, November 2000).

The respondents thought that, while it would be a wonderful idea for the government to build quality but affordable houses for the low-income earners in Iringa, it was not realistic to expect the government to do so with the little resources available. Therefore, they planned to build in the unplanned areas when they could afford it.

74% of respondents said that there was no shortage of medical facilities in Iringa and supported the municipality's assistance to those who are unable to pay for some forms of healthcare while rejecting the cost sharing policy. One of them argued that the cost recovery was bad for the poor and added:

It is the poor people's children who die of malaria and kwashiorkor. The more well off families do not have problems of this sort. The existing help from the municipal council is good and we truly appreciate that. However I think that the national government should abandon altogether the policy of charging for healthcare. The Central government is behaving as if it did not know that most of its citizens are poor! How many people must die before they realise it is a bad policy? I hope one day it will change (Interview with one Iringa resident at Kitanzini, November 2000).

This respondent's opinion was shared by many others who expressed similar ideas in different ways. The help the respondent was talking about is concerning immunization and nutrition. Furthermore, 50% of the respondents said they knew someone who had HIV-AIDS. However most of them had never discussed the matter with any members of the victim's family because it was a sort of modern form of taboo. One argued that:

If someone has AIDS, they do not tell anyone else because they are afraid that they would be excluded by the family and others. Once people know you have AIDS, they do not want to hear about you anymore. You stay silent in order to protect yourself (Interview with one Iringa resident at Gangilonga, November 2000).

They agreed though with my suggestion that silence of this kind protected a few individuals from social exclusion but killed thousands more because of the increased rate of infection. 70% of respondents said they had been well informed about HIV/AIDS and that the municipality's

efforts to reach out to everyone were widely noticed and commended. However one respondent shocked me when he said that:

AIDS is not a real illness, but a form of governmental tool to gain control over social aspects of our lives. People died of witchcraft and you should know this, not AIDS (Interview with one Iringa resident at Mwangata, November 2000).

If such views would be allowed to spread, then the task of the municipality to educate would be twice as hard and sustainable development would be jeopardized. Most of the respondents, though, argued that “there is a problem of sexual morality and lack of strict moral codes which existed in the traditional society”. The stories point out that Iringa municipal council and the Central government will have to commit fully to eradicate preventable diseases and find ways of helping the poor with medical support, thus enabling them to contribute fully towards the efforts for sustainability in Tanzania, if the vision of sustainable development is to be achieved in the near future.

In Iringa 19 of the 27 respondents complained about the shortage of water and were not happy with the explanation given by the municipal council. 30% said that most of the time there is water. One respondent argued that:

I have to walk a long way to get water. In fact I spend at least 13 hours every week only to fetch water. This is not acceptable. The mtaa leader has told me they are working on it. He does not have water near his place either. I go with his wife for the water and our children spend their time after school going for water instead of playing or doing some revision. It is sad really, considering we live in town (Interview with one Iringa resident at Kitanzini, November 2000).

Sustainable development in Iringa might be achieved sooner if the authorities were able to provide adequate and safe water for the residents as well as that suitable for industrial use. The municipality does not explain why 40% of the water was lost and why the old system has not been repaired, nor does it explain whether the cost incurred by the loss would turn into financial savings if the repairs were carried out through a loan. Losing so much water raises questions about the municipality’s efficiency.

Conclusions

This chapter has shown that though Iringa was not one of the urban areas selected as growth poles in the 1970s, it has grown rapidly and is now one of the first municipalities taking part in replicating the progress of Sustainable Dar project. Its institutions have been effective in following the principles of Vision 2025 and LGRP. Iringa has had a good approach in education and an excellent strategy in combating HIV/AIDS which is compatible with its vision for sustainability. However it has a weak economic base and this, together with its soft approach in revenue collection, has increased its dependency on the Central government. This has made Iringa's strategies for sustainable development harder to achieve, while the demands for services have been constantly growing. The lines of communication and social networks seem to be working well so that debate within the municipal council has been serious and yet kept smooth relations between the appointed officers and the elected councillors. The communication has also been extended to the residents. As a result, Iringa municipality has had a unique approach to the implementation of development policy thus creating a healthy interaction between the council and the people, which has been highly commended by its residents. It has created a very harmonious relationship with its population and has made the people feel they are part of the development process by allocating resources fairly and involving them from the decision-making stage through to policy implementation. The officials treat residents with respect and cultural sensitivity. On the one hand Iringa residents attend meetings and they want to know what is going on, and on the other, the officials at the grassroots visit them often at home to talk about development issues and get feedback about the policies in the process of implementation. The opposition parties have lost the little ground they had gained in the first multiparty elections and Iringa residents seem to be satisfied with CCM's representation. Therefore, although the municipality has a weakness in efficiency, this has not made its population hostile instead they are understanding and sympathetic with the council for financial shortage. The local political system seems to be working it could be argued that it is a matter of

scale, it is a small urban area and thus easy to manage. However, the most outstanding lesson to be learned from this chapter is that the policies for sustainable development will be successful if the population is treated with consideration and respect in the implementation of such policies.

Chapter 7. A Comparative Analysis of Dar, Moshi and Iringa

7. 1 Background and Development Plans

The policy discourse in urban Tanzania is dealing with development goals, set by Central government and implemented by the various local authorities, and the interactive relations between the officials and the residents in the effort to meet them. It is a development discourse and in particular one that is focusing on sustainable development, a goal explicitly identified by the Central government, that is concerned with the relation between individual social and governance structures at the ward level and the wider social structures within the municipality and Tanzania as a whole. As explained in the methodology chapter, and as Mills put it, the future of discourse analysis lies in the “concern for the relation between the individual interaction and the wider discursive and social structure” (Mill, Discourse, 2004, p. 141). Furthermore, the struggle to meet ambitious targets in Kinondoni, Moshi and Iringa, having been chosen to replicate the progress made by the Sustainable Dar Project, reveal various strands of power relations and how they impact on the various residents. While all three municipalities have been working disparately towards sustainable development, the interplay of institutions, individual officers and councillors, who sometimes support the institutional stance while at other times rejecting it, shows how different approaches produce different reactions and could affect developmental outcomes. For Kinondoni, Moshi and Iringa, the process of policy formulation and implementation of policies already set forth, is explicitly geared towards one end, that is, sustainable urban development. The development discourse involves explanation and interpretation of concrete policies and situations that affect various actors in the

implementation process. Indeed as Howarth argued in his work on discourse, “although the task of understanding and interpreting meaningful practices is the overall objective of discourse analysis, this does not rule out the necessity of explanation” (Howarth, 2000, p.139). Thus explanations and descriptions are given with regard to the policies adopted by the three municipalities together with the reaction from the local communities who bear the impact of the policy implementation. After all it must be made clear that the opinion of the urban poor might be very different from that of scholars and government officials because they may not see sustainable development from the same mindset as the rest.

Although the three municipalities have similarities in their historical backgrounds, each took a different growth and development trajectory. Indeed Dar, Moshi and Iringa all became important urban centres during the Germany colonial era and were further developed by the British, and later by the independent Government. It would not do justice to any of the municipalities to analyse their development without looking at their particular patterns of development after independence, which is in close association with the regions where the municipalities exist. Although Kinondoni became a municipality as recent as 2000, its development is closely related to that of the City of Dar. Kinondoni, and the city as a whole, has always been at the top of urban centres in the national hierarchy. Moshi has long been a centre of entrepreneurial growth for the whole country and, as such, it has had advantages of government intervention as was the case when it was chosen as one of the nine ‘growth poles’ in the second five-year development plan and thus has more privileges than Iringa. The construction of Kilimanjaro International Airport in the 1970s is testimony to early intervention in favour of Moshi. In 1988, Moshi became a municipality, thus theoretically getting more powers to run its own affairs. Iringa on the other hand, was not included in the selection of growth poles. However, it joined the moderately privileged group of leading urban areas when it became a municipality in 1990. Iringa is also one of those towns chosen to replicate the process initiated by the Sustainable Dar project.

Kinondoni in Dar has advantages associated with the economics of larger metropolitan areas, such as proximity to services and business investments, unlike Moshi and Iringa which are much smaller towns and have a smaller scale of economic activities. But Kinondoni also has particular problems caused by high population density and growth, making the issues of sustainable development especially challenging. Moshi and Iringa share the problems of rapid growth in varying degrees but the pressure is mainly due to the fact that the municipal councils do not have sufficient resources to cope with the increasing number of urban residents.

Taken from the 2002/2003 development mission statements, Kinondoni, Moshi and Iringa municipal councils have all had very ambitious development plans. But Kinondoni's seems to be the most ambitious of all. It claimed that its mission was to eradicate poverty, to empower communities and to achieve this through increased efficiency and stakeholders' involvement in the development process (Halmashauri ya Manispaa ya Kinondoni, 2002, p.1). This could be good and an indication that the local government is listening to its residents. Alternatively it could also be that goals so broad make it hard for anyone to pinpoint particular areas and expose failure in meeting targets. This might seem cynical but it is mostly the assessment of the residents that Kinondoni municipality did not want to be accountable and would do all that it could to disguise its failures. Moshi municipal council, on the other hand, made it clear in its mission statement of the same year, 2002, that its goal was to direct more resources towards the community and social services in order to build and strengthen trust from its residents (Halmashauri ya Manispaa Moshi, 2002, p.6). This was seen by the officials as the way forward because, in order to increase taxation and thus its own revenue, and in return the amount of resources spent on the development projects, it needed the people on its side. Again Moshi adopted ambitious goals similar to those of Kinondoni municipality, except that they were less elaborate and more specific in terms of intended outcomes and the means of delivering. In the case of Iringa municipal council, the stated aim was to improve the living conditions of the people of Iringa urban and the means of delivering is by increasing spending on service

provision in the period 2002/2003. Not much is said in terms of delivery or specific targets to be met as part of the mission statement but more is explained when the development projects are set out for the period in question. One interesting point is the fact that only Iringa states clearly that its aim is to improve the living conditions of its residents, while Kinondoni and Moshi might implicitly have similar goals but do not make such a bold statement. It is clear though that all the three municipal authorities have very ambitious development goals, but have different approaches to meeting them, and yet all defended their own approach as the best for their particular circumstances while the residents also gave their own reactions, sometimes very different from the official account. The analysis of the development process examines the institutional position as opposed, or linked to, its officials' choices and how individual respondents recounted their own experience.

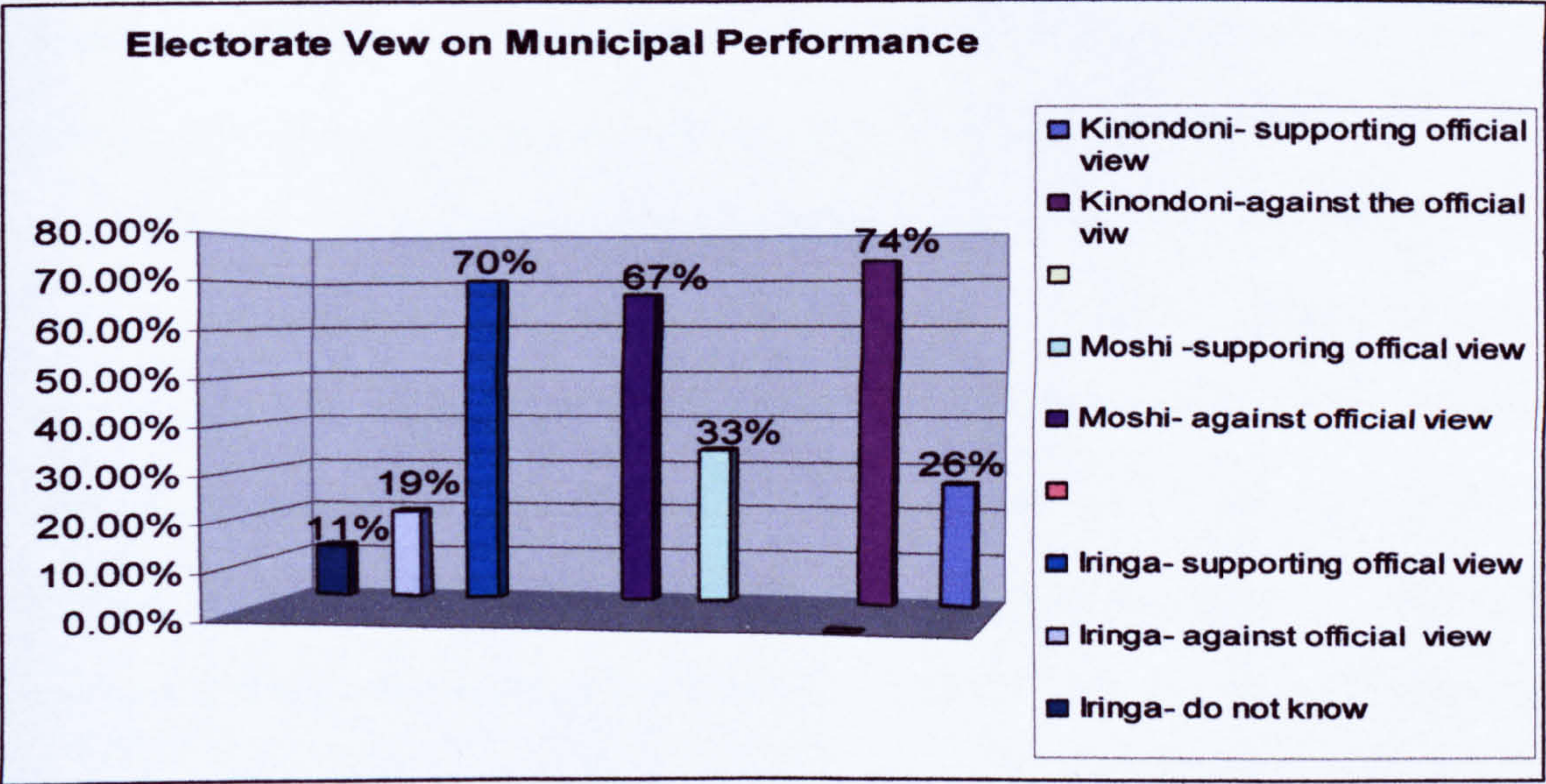
Sustainable development discourse could critically make good use of the analysis of different structures of power within particular local settings. Differences in patterns or structures of power may be attributed primarily, mainly or partly, to the way in which resources, or 'base values', are distributed among individuals, strata, classes and groups in different communities, countries, societies and historical periods (Dahl, 1986, p.44). These differences are clearly visible in the choices of investment and distribution of available resources made in the three urban areas. In its 2002/2003 budget Kinondoni allocated 72% of its development funds to community development services. It was attempting to meet its ambitious goal of eradicating poverty and empowering communities. The money was to be spent on schools, healthcare, community empowerment through minor loans, water provision etc. Some of these goals were seen as being achieved especially the allocation of funds to alleviate poverty in the municipality. One would expect huge support from the people for such a good programme but as most of the urban areas have shown, it is not the planning that is fundamentally flawed in Tanzania, it is rather the delivery and implementation of development policy that is seriously flawed as was made clear in the analysis of the responses from residents. For Moshi municipal council, most

of the spending allocation went on roads construction. In fact the roads took 50% of the funds were allocated for development projects, and this proved controversial as residents questioned why the focus was only on one visible area while other community development areas remained with little investment from the municipality. The municipality indicated that it had achieved some of its goals especially increasing the amount of revenue from its own sources. This was acknowledged by the residents but with much resentment about the methods used. Iringa was not far from the other two in trying to push forward its plans for sustainable development. Iringa municipal council allocated 53% of its departmental and development funding to Education and Culture, which is the area most people in Iringa would agree with and want spending focused on. The planning thus met the people's expectation in this case as it will be made clearer when analysing the residents' response and view of the development process.

At the centre of the municipal development discourse are the officers and councillors leading the development process and implementation of policies in each particular municipality. Should the discourse ignore them, it runs the risk of gaining incomplete information about how the municipal development process has been managed. Most of the officers and councillors in Kinondoni, Moshi and Iringa said they were satisfied with their policies and approach to development. However in Kinondoni, 17% of the officers and 33% of the councillors interviewed were not satisfied with the approach. This though is not necessarily negative because it could indicate that at least there is some desire to improve the way things have been in the municipality. However, the fact that the overwhelming majority were not intending to change anything implies that any improvement will be difficult. The opinions of the respondents were far removed from this contentment. As indicated in figure 7.0 below, 74% claimed that Kinondoni municipal council was performing very poorly and needed to change its approach to development, and especially the implementation of its policies. With only 26% of the respondents supporting its official stance, Kinondoni has serious problems in achieving its sustainable development goals. Another point close to this is the fact that only 11% of the

respondents said that Kinondoni municipality was accountable, while 67% suggested it was not and 22% did not know. Furthermore, 63% of the respondents suggested that Kinondoni municipality was ‘poor’ in managing available resources and accused officials of ever creating new ways to misappropriate funds. A closer examination shows that, while 37% said the municipality was ‘good’ at managing resources, 22% suggested it was ‘poor’ and 41% argued that it was ‘very poor’. The council’s performance has therefore been closely linked with its poor accountability and perceived bad management of resources, leaving residents with increasing suspicion and not knowing what the officials were planning to do and why. Failing to publish its reports on finance and budget or to provide copies in the library is one of the problems which increased mistrust. Furthermore, the fact that the support of the municipal council came mainly from the more well off area while the poor tended to be against the municipal view is indicative of social problems within various income groups and the tensions these generate. Some of the officials said this was because they had not had enough time in office to convince the people that they can do the job well, although this was not seen as sufficient justification by the officers who sought to change things. Overall, it is clear that a major modifier in success of policies is the method of implementation. Unfortunately that is what most of the officials rejected when they rejected the need for change in policy approach.

Figure 7.0: The Electorate View of Municipal Performance

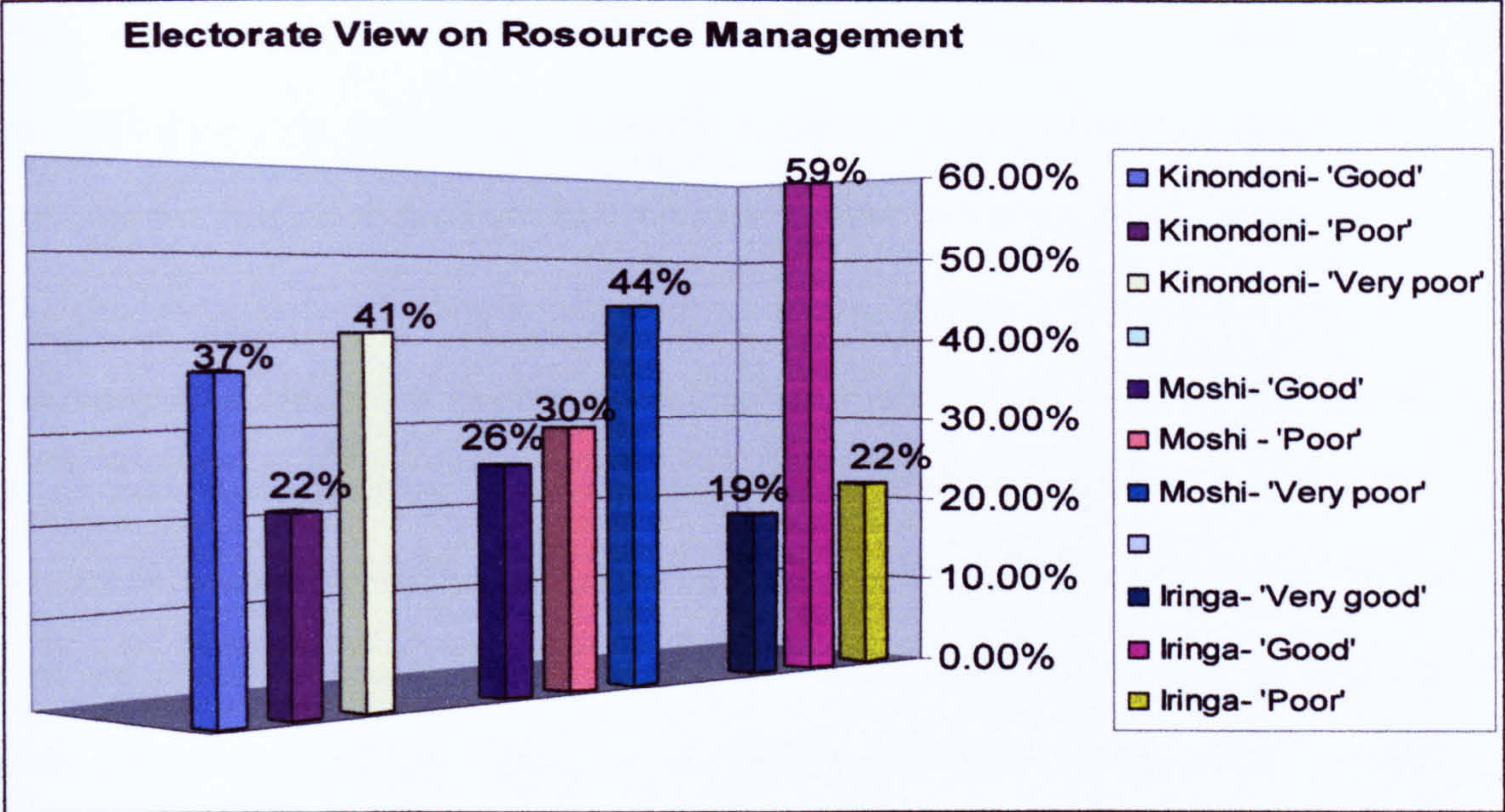


Moshi municipality on the other hand had all its officers agreeing with the official stance that the council was doing well and saw no need to change policies. Only 33% of the councillors thought that there should be a change in approach. This is striking when in reality the electorate rated the municipal performance as very poor with only 33% of the 27 respondents arguing that Moshi municipal council was doing a good job and 67% arguing against. In addition, 52% of the respondents said that their municipality was not accountable at all, was rather corrupt and continually seeking ways to pocket their money. Only 30 % suggested the council was accountable while 18% did not know. Furthermore, 74% of the respondents argued that the municipality was very bad at managing its own resources, some pointing to the broken pipes and water leakage seen in many areas as obvious examples. A closer look reveals that in fact 26% rated it as 'good' and none as 'very good', while 30% suggested Moshi municipality was 'poor' at managing resources and the remaining 44% rated it as a 'very poor' manager of resources as shown in figure 7.1 below. Thus there was a strong rejection of the municipal position with regard to accountability but even more so, on its performance as a whole. The rejection of the municipal view of development and demand for change came from all social groups but here the more affluent tended to support the government. But it is not hard to see why there was no willingness to change considering if Leys argument applies here. As mentioned in chapter three, he argued that the ruling party expected the people to change their position eventually in order to reap the fruits of development available to those supporting the government. Those in opposition parties in Leys' experience were systematically excluded from these rewards, and thus, some leaders of the opposition chose to rejoin the ruling party and those who did not found themselves losing popular support (Leys, 1967, p. 102). If that is the case in Moshi, then one can understand why such widespread negative reactions from the residents would not alter the position of the municipal council. Either the council was unaware of local attitudes to its programmes or chose to ignore public opinion. Whichever is the case, its position seems to be contrary to its own mission statement of working to build trust amongst its residents

and far from the stipulation of Vision 2025 as well as PRSP. How the council will manage to rebuild trust without changing its practices is hard to grasp for it is not sufficient to have good policies and goals. It is the implementation and achievement of those goals that will count in the end towards development. Without appropriate implementation the process will deteriorate or remain stagnant.

Iringa municipal council had a different perspective, and all the officers and councillors agreed with the official stance, convinced that they had the right approach to the development process and policy. They did not think a change was needed except in the speed of delivering on promises and increasing the economic growth for the municipality. This was supported by 70% of the electorate respondents, as indicated in the figure below, while 18% disagreed and 11% did not know how to rate the municipality. On the issue of accountability, 67% of the electorate respondents supported the official position and provided examples to demonstrate how accountable the council was, such as publishing its report and leaving a copy in the library for whoever wanted to read etc. 26% rejected the official view and 7% did not know. Moreover, in terms of managing resources, the electorate gave huge support to the municipal authority. In fact 78% of the respondents supported the municipality and said it was 'good' at managing resources with a number of respondents citing the delivery of what residents needed, spending on education as local communities wished and maintaining the main roads. A closer analysis shows that 19% of the respondents rated the municipality as 'very good' in managing resources while 59% rated it as 'good' and only 22% rated it as 'poor'. Table 6.1 below reveals the sharp contrast between the three urban areas. Probably with such a huge support from the municipal residents, the officials had good reasons to be satisfied with the official stance on the approach to sustainable development in Iringa. Nevertheless, even here there are questions to be answered as to whether the development goals were achieved or not and to what extent they have been achieved. It is worth discovering as well if the popular support came at what kind of economic and developmental cost if any?

Figure 7.1: Electorate View on Resource Management



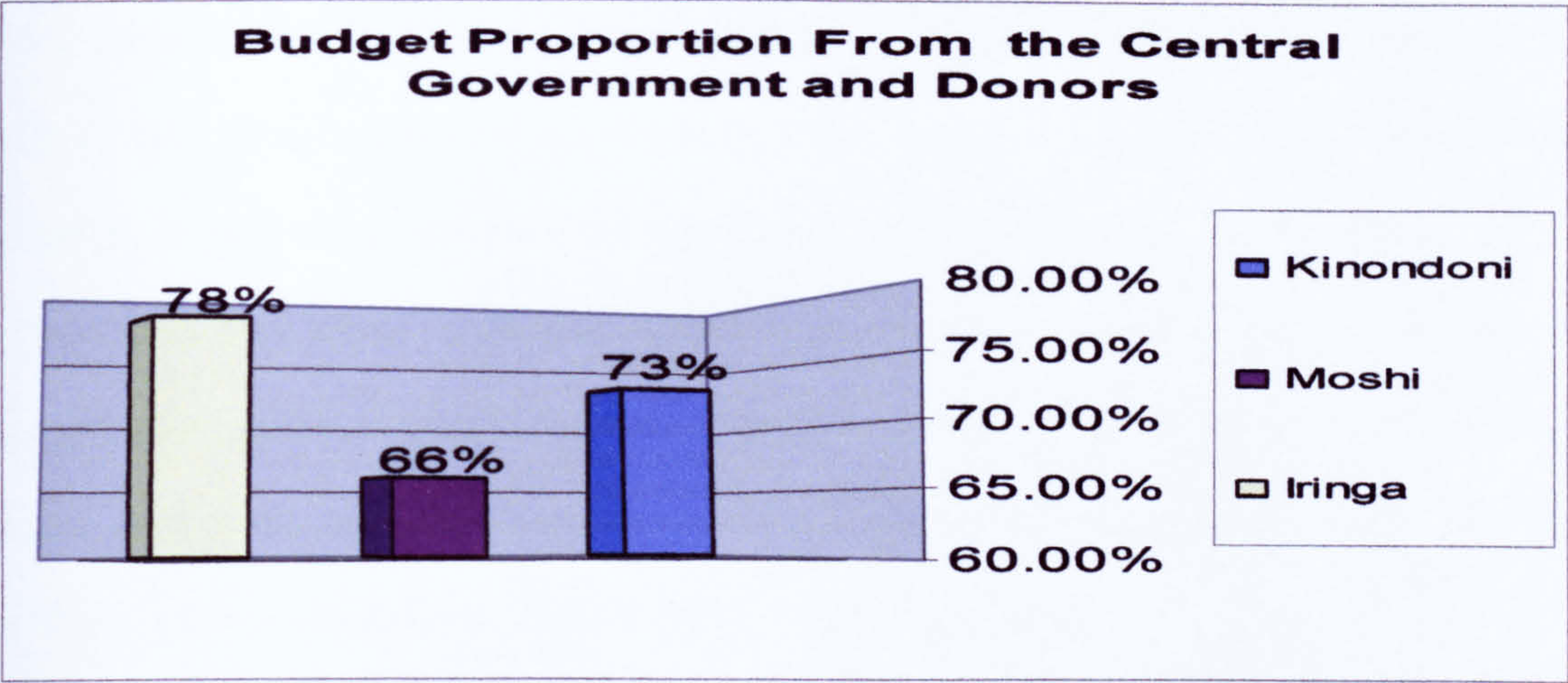
Central government and local government relations are unavoidable in the development policy discourse, because all the major policies implemented by the local government are formulated by the national government which is also responsible for approving the local authority's by laws. Kinondoni municipal council officers interviewed argued that they had a good relationship with the Central government. However, 67% of the officers and 100% of the councillors said that the nature of the relationship should change in order to reduce dependency on the national government and were not happy with the unpopular laws such as cost sharing in healthcare. For this issue, it was clear that the majority of officers and councillors shared the same view and wanted more money from the Central government in order to speed up the local government reforms. However the electorate interviewees suggested that Central government planning was better than their municipal planning. 70% agreed with the official position that Central government was good at planning as opposed to only 19% for municipal planning. 81% argued that the municipality was poor at implementing policies and even worse at planning while only 30% suggested the national government was not good at development planning.

In Moshi 83% of the officers and 67% of the councillors were not satisfied with the relationship with Central government and wanted changes to give them more autonomy

including control over the police and local magistrate courts. 17% of officers and 33% of councillors supported the official stance. Those who wanted changes also argued that the reforms have not yet given the municipal councils the authority they need to improve services to their residents and to attend to local needs. They also resented the national policy of cost sharing and thus charges in hospitals. Moshi was in a similar position with Kinondoni in terms of residents mistrusting its ability to plan for development. However here the support for the Central government was not very high either, only 52% of the electorate respondents suggested that the Central government was good at planning while a much smaller number (33%) went to the municipal council. Whereas 48% thought the national government was poor in planning, two-thirds said that the municipal council was very poor in development planning. Of course it is better than Kinondoni where 81% suggested that the municipality was not good at planning, but it indicates deep mistrust from the local communities and without local support, development goals will not be achieved.

Iringa municipal council had 67% of its interviewed officers and 100% of its interviewed councillors demanding changes which would enable the local government to have more authority and capacity to fulfil its residents' needs and improve the quality of life. Only 33% were satisfied with the prevailing situation. Contrary to Kinondoni and Moshi, Iringa respondents trusted in their municipality. 82% of the electorate respondents pointed out that the municipal authority was good at planning and 56% argued the same for the Central government. Only 18% were not convinced by the municipal performance and 37% by the Central government performance. As mentioned above, the municipality has a strategy of building trust with the communities by encouraging constant dialogue with them and involving them in deliberations before they are made into policies for sustainable development. The ordinary people feel that they own the projects and thus they fully support the municipal council. However, as shown in figure 7.2, this did not reduce Iringa's dependency for revenue.

Figure 7.2: 2002 Municipal Funding by the Central government and Donors



Over-dependency on the Central government for revenue limits urban councils in their efforts towards sustainable development and in providing the highly needed public services to their rapidly growing populations. The 2002 census records indicated that Kinondoni had a population of 1,088,867 while Moshi and Iringa had 144,336 plus 60,000 commuters and 106,668 respectively (Tanzania National Website, 2002 Census). For the year 2002, Kinondoni’s budget shows that it expected to receive 11.9 billion shillings from the Central government and donors out of the total budget of about 16.2 billion shillings (Halmashauri ya Manispaa ya Kinondoni, 2002, p 11), which was 73% of its budget and 1,093 shillings per capita. In the same year Moshi municipality expected about 1.5 billion shillings from Central government and donors out of its 2.3 billion shillings, which was 66% of its budget and 1,039 shillings per capita. Iringa expected about 1.4 billion shillings from Central government and donors out of its total budget of 1.8 billion shillings, which was about 78% of its budget and 1,294 shillings per capita. It is evident from the above figures that Iringa had the highest amount of per capita grant from Central government followed by Kinondoni and Moshi respectively. It was also Iringa that had the highest percentage of its budget coming from Central government thus pointing to a greater dependency on the Central government. The respondents in Kinondoni suggested that their municipality had high status and would not compare with the regional municipalities such as Moshi or Iringa in terms of grants. However, they were clearly mistaken

given the figures above. In Moshi, on the other hand, the residents simply thought their town had been abandoned by Central government and was being managed badly by their municipal council. Most of the respondents perceived their situation as marginal in terms of development, despite their hard work. They believed their wealth would have doubled had they been left alone by the 'ever-interfering' local government of which they had no better description than 'incompetent', although most expressed optimism about their future development prospects. In Iringa, most respondents were satisfied with the status of the town and were happy that their local government was doing a good job with available resources.

In Moshi, most of the respondents did not think that local initiatives were greatly supported by Central government. Respondents were unanimous in complaining about Central government's neglect, though they considered generally that it was good at planning. There was much more division of view among respondents when they were discussing the local government. In the higher income ward, hardly any one spoke negatively against the municipal council, while in the lower income wards almost all were dissatisfied with the performance of the local government. However, one local project was seen as having had good support and that was the new regional bus station. In Iringa the perception was also that local initiatives have not had much support from Central government. For example, the ideas of developing more affordable government housing and part-owned government industry to support the economy were proposed and did not receive positive responses from the government. Yet considering that Iringa received so much more per capita in terms of grants, somehow the residents had to have misunderstood the extent of Central government involvement and assistance.

7.2 Meeting Ambitious Policy Goals

Improvement in the transportation system is one area where the urban development discourse has had an impact on influencing investment and recognising the role transportation plays in urban regeneration, renewal and ultimately sustainability of progress. In the three municipal study areas, more investment in transportation has been the case to varying degrees.

All the three municipal councils have sought to improve their transportation systems by constructing roads, expanding them and repairing existing roads as well as constructing coach stations. In Kinondoni municipal council, 33% of the officers interviewed were not satisfied with the rate of investment and progress made in transportation and demanded improvement, while 67% of the officers argued that given the resources available the progress made was good and there was no need to demand change. However, 100% of councillors wanted changes, because they pointed out that the progress was mainly on main roads while feeder roads were in a bad state of disrepair and many were impassable during the rainy season. On this point it seems that the elected officials had listened to the electorate because 70% of the respondents, as indicated in table 6.1 below, wanted these changes and made the same argument that the poor areas did not get much of the benefit of good roads such as the rich areas had. Only 30% of the electorate respondents supported the official view that the investment in transportation was adequate. Clearly this is a policy area where progress was being made even though there were on-going complaints from the respondents, probably as a result of expectations being raised during the election campaigns which were not being met with the speed promised by officials.

Table 6.1: Electorate Views on Transportation

Municipality	Supporting official view		Demanding change		Total	
Kinondoni	8	30%	19	70%	27	100%
Moshi	14	52%	13	48%	27	100%
Iringa	17	63%	10	37%	27	100%

Moshi municipal council acted rather differently when compared to Kinondoni, because it made a policy decision to invest most of its development funds in the transportation system. As stated above, this proved to be controversial and divisive. 50% of the officers interviewed argued that it was a good idea to invest that much on transport system because it would boost the economy, while another 50% pointed out that, despite its usefulness, the investment was not proportionate to available resources. Furthermore, of the fifty percent who did not agree with

the policy, one-third suggested that this vast investment was mainly a political response rather than a carefully coasted economic choice. At the same time one officer suggested the possibility of official involvement in corruption, in that they had given contracts to companies where they themselves had shares. There was no proof of this or substantiation of the allegations. The councillors agreed that transportation needed to be a priority but all 100% argued against the proportion of the budget spent on transportation. This was hard to understand given the fact that 52% of the electorate respondents, as shown in the table above, supported the policy and it emerged from them that it was one of CCM's electoral pledges, to invest in transportation and elected CCM councillors just wanted to honour it. Moreover, the councillors voted for the policy in the full council, so why didn't they block it if they were opposed? One reason would be that, if they had made promises during the election campaigns to support the investment in transportation bill, they would not want to be seen by their own residents to have opposed it afterwards because that could cost them votes in the next elections. The other reason would be that the council did not give them a chance to amend the bill in order to change the proportion of the funds going in this development project of transportation. Nevertheless, all were very happy with the completion of the Moshi Coach Station.

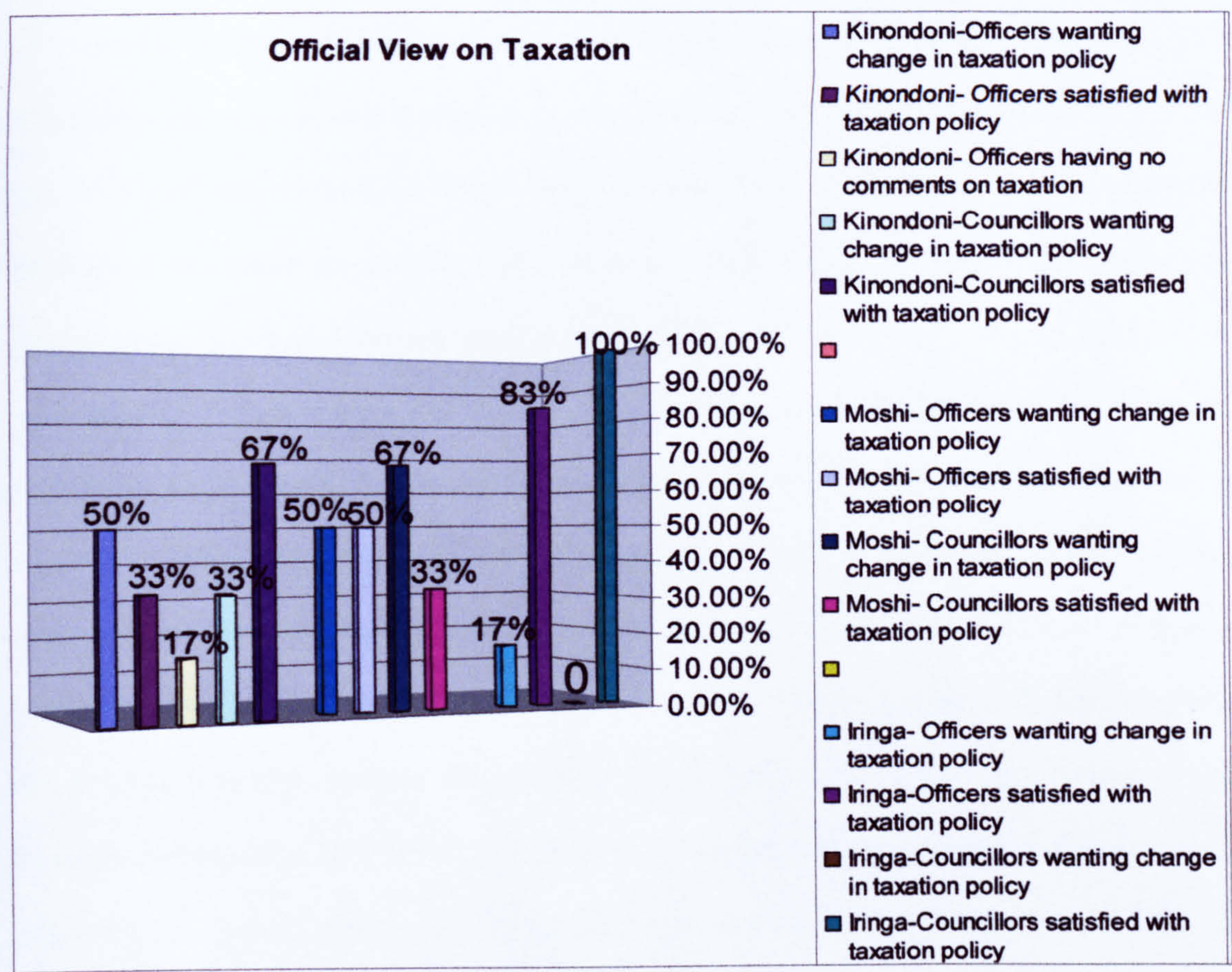
Iringa on the other hand was different from Kinondoni and Moshi in that transportation was not a hot issue. Both appointed officers and elected councillors did not have much to say about it. They argued that it was a policy area that was part of the development projects and one that has been in the process of implementation for a while and improvements could already be seen. Here 17% of the interviewed officers and 33% of the councillors demanded a change of policy and more investment in transportation, while 83% of the officers and 66% of the councillors were satisfied with progress and wanted to continue if possible at a higher speed. 63% of the electorate respondents as indicated in the table above supported the official argument about the progress made thus far while 37% argued against. Probably what convinced the electorate was the fact that the politicians did not make huge promises about transportation

during the election, and the little that was promised in terms of having regular buses in the town and having the main roads repaired was delivered. This is likely to be the reason they agreed with the official opinion on the transportation system in Iringa. In fact to a stranger there was more happening in Kinondoni than in Iringa in terms of roads and yet it is this council that had the lowest support, that is only 30% while Iringa had the highest 63% and Moshi, which invested more of its budget than the other two, had only 52% of the electorate respondents supporting its policy and implementation process. This shows that, while more investment is likely to win popular support, it does not necessarily do so and in fact a political approach to the electorate seems to have played a significant role in winning their sympathy. That is the most plausible reason why Iringa, which did not overemphasise what it could do and also promised more would be done if the Central government offered more support, was able to shift the blame from local politicians to the Central government.

Sustainable development discourse explores policies such as taxation, and methods of implementation applied in particular areas. Such explorations make it possible to describe the phenomenon of policy impact on the society and communities involved and this helps one to understand the possible consequences for the future. In Kinondoni municipality, taxation was very divisive and one officer would not even talk about it. Even when I insisted that he should choose either to support the official view or argue against it, he would simply not comment. 50% of the interviewed officers in Kinondoni demanded a change in the approach to taxation to make it fair to all citizens and to support the poor. Only 33% argued in full support of the policy and implementation methods as they were. The councillors seemed sympathetic to the poor but only 33% would make formal comments while the rest did not want to talk about tax. Only when pushed into making a choice did they say then they would support the official position thus making those satisfied with policy to be 67%. Most probably the officials felt that taxation was not an issue to be discussed and suggestions to be made because of party loyalty and the strength of the CCM in the council, which was the overriding influence over the people's need

and demand for change and their concern that it should be implemented soon. In fact 74% of the electorate respondents wanted a change in the structure of taxation and in the method of collection as they lamented that the rich were being favoured. Only 26%, most of whom were from the affluent ward, argued in favour of the official view. With so many residents opposing the way the policy has been implemented and being given little consideration for their point of view, the concept of sustainable development will remain just an idea and unachievable goal.

Figure 7.3: The official View on Taxation in Kinondoni, Moshi and Iringa



In Moshi, as in Kinondoni, taxation was a hot issue and 50% of the officers supported the official position while 50% of the officers interviewed did not. Also in Moshi, one officer did not want to make comments about taxation in the formal interview but informally he said he would support the official view unlike the one at Kinondoni who utterly refused to make comment. Unlike Kinondoni, 67% of the councillors on the other hand wanted changes and would not support the official stance while 33% were satisfied with the way things were. It was

the reverse of Kinondoni where most councillors were satisfied. The residents however were resentful of the whole process. 78% of the electorate respondents argued that the council was mismanaging the process, targeting the poor, destroying their goods for delaying to pay market charges and generally they described the officials as corrupt and incompetent.

In Iringa, however, it was an entirely different perspective because 83% of the interviewed officers were satisfied with the taxation policy and how it was being implemented. Only one queried the efficiency and was not entirely convinced of the approach of implementation. All the councillors interviewed gave a unanimous support to the official position. Interestingly, 63% of the electorate respondents argued in favour of the prevailing approach while 37% argued against. There were no major complaints but there were approving comments about the approach of the municipal council. One that was outstanding is that the officials were very understanding, approachable and used the councillors and 'mitaa' leaders to educate the residents and convince them to pay taxes and market stall charges. Sometimes threats were used as well but Iringa council did not use force or destroy the goods of those who delayed paying tax. This is in sharp contrast with Kinondoni and Moshi where these methods of force and property destruction were used continually and produced great resentment. All three urban areas increased revenue raised locally through taxation and other charges and, as such, this is a policy area that has seen improvement in concrete terms. Iringa managed to increase its revenue but not more than Moshi or Kinondoni. Nevertheless, its residents were content and did not seem to resent the process and thus prospects are such that if things do not change negatively, the revenue will grow, while where resentment is high it is likely to have the opposite effect. Taxation methods need to be reformed, because the implementation tactics could change an entirely good policy to something resented by the residents and hinder efforts towards sustainable development.

Poverty alleviation is another policy area where the development discourse shows that the approach used in implementation could either bring popular support or increase the sense of

alienation among the poor. In Kinondoni municipal council, and in the other urban councils, the scheme that was of paramount importance was the small scale loans targeted on the unemployed youth and women. Kinondoni officers interviewed argued that the scheme was working very well and had helped thousands of residents. In fact 83% of the officers supported the official position while only 17% did not. The councillors on the other hand unanimously opposed the approach and accused the officers of inefficiency in resource allocation while the officers argued that the councillors were worried about votes more than economically viable strategies for poverty alleviation. This disunity of ideas and conflict makes it harder for Kinondoni to focus on the issues and strategies that matter for sustainable development. That is why 44% of the electorate respondents, as indicated in table 6.2 below, did not agree with the official line and accused the officials of corruption, favouritism and nepotism in allocating the loans. Also 37% of the respondents had no idea that the scheme existed, implying a break down in communications. For such an important policy area to receive support from only 29% of the respondents and so many not knowing about it, raises questions about efficiency, methods of implementation and ability to monitor the progress of the scheme. Closely linked with this is the sense of loss from many of the petty trader respondents who felt that they were not only unfairly left out of the loans scheme, but were also forcibly moved from the areas where they used to make good money to areas where they could no longer manage to support their families. 70% of the electorate respondents complained that their goods were destroyed in the process of moving and they lost income as a result.

Table 6.2: Electorate Views on Small Scale Loans

Municipality	Supporting official view		Demanding change		Do not know about loans		Total	
Kinondoni	5	19%	12	44%	10	37%	27	100%
Moshi	2	7%	17	63%	8	30%	27	100%
Iringa	22	82%	3	11%	2	7%	27	100%

In Moshi the small scale loans scheme had 50% of the officers arguing against the other 50% about the implementation of the policy, though all supported the policy as such. The councillors, just as in Kinondoni, were sympathetic to the electorate and all were critical of the official arguments, demanding more transparency and involvement of the electorate in the process of allocation of loans and in education schemes for that purpose. Progress was being made in this area and more residents were getting together for education and training in preparation for their investment. The electorate respondents had a completely different view on the subject. Most of them, in fact 63% as in the table above, complained about the procedures for loan allocation and said that the standards were not applied equally to all residents and it was mainly those with connections in the council who would get the loans. 30% of the electorate respondents did not know about the scheme at all and only 7% considered that the scheme was fair. For this to be the situation something has gone wrong with the procedures, and at the very least communication has not been efficient enough to let residents know about the scheme and about the official standards that are supposed to be applied evenly to all applicants. Just as was the case in Kinondoni, residents in Moshi complained about land allocation for small businesses and the harassment by police sent by the municipal council. Although fewer than in Kinondoni, 59% of the electorate respondents were deeply dissatisfied with the eviction process conducted by the officials. 41% did not have problems with the allocation of land and were happy to support the official position. Nevertheless, it is evident that large numbers of residents were not happy with the development process and the implementation of policies by the council. Although officials in both areas talked of using the same standards, it is possible that they were not able to communicate this message to the electorate or that there were some serious problems in the system that needed to be resolved in order to achieve the goals of sustainable development. This form of empowerment provides reasons for further discourse as to why maintain a system that consists of and creates such conflicts. As Lukes put it: "The co-operative and communicative aspects of empowerment certainly requires attention, as do the ways in

which power maintains social systems and advances conflicting collective interests within them” (Lukes, 1986, p. 4).

Iringa acted on the poverty alleviation policy in a rather different way from Kinondoni and Moshi. First, according to the officials, they advertised it and sent the ‘mitaa’ leaders to communicate the message to all residents. All the same 33% of the officers were critical of the scheme; saying that the municipality needed to increase efficiency and that it was causing problems to those groups having members that abscond from repayment. 67% of the officers supported the policy and argued how it was lifting thousands of women and youth out of poverty. However, 67% of councillors did not agree with the official position. They complained about the difficulties in repayment for the residents who were not making much profit and difficulties for the municipality in following them up and making sure they repaid the loans. However, 85% of the electorate respondents supported the policy while only 11% did not and a further 4% was not aware of the loans scheme. How different indeed from Kinondoni and Moshi where 30% and 37% respectively did not have any knowledge of the existence of the micro finance loans from their municipalities. In the case of land allocation for small businesses in Iringa, again, 74% of the electorate residents supported the official view while only 26% did not. The number supporting the scheme in Iringa is so large that there has to be something radically different from the other two in terms of seeking popular support. Evidence from the study highlights three main reasons: First Iringa used the traditional institutions, the ward and sub-wards ‘mitaa’ to communicate information about its policies effectively. Second it was able to use the issue specific working groups for that purpose. Third Iringa municipal council was able to offer education to those taking loans as well as to monitor their progress without having to resort to force to make sure the money would be paid back. These were the main reasons for its success in increasing popular support, and should indeed make a positive contribution to the exploration and critical analysis of the much more limited achievements of the programme in Kinondoni and Moshi.

The development discourse cannot ignore policy issues such as housing especially for urban councils which almost always have a shortage of adequate accommodation and serviced areas for building homes. In Kinondoni where, as shown in table 6.3 below, 70% of the homes are in unplanned areas, the shortage of housing is acute. All the officers and councillors interviewed agreed that there is a shortage of accommodation but argued it was caused by lack of funding and the meagre resources available to the municipal council. This was rejected by the electorate respondents of whom 81% said the government both at the municipal and central level did not have plans for affordable accommodation for low income families. For them it was not the funding that was a problem, but a political will to act in favour of the poor.

Table 6.3: Electorates View on Housing and Settlement in Unplanned Areas

Municipality	Supporting official view		Demanding change		Total		% of Housing in Unplanned Areas
Kinondoni	5	19%	22	81%	27	100%	70%
Moshi	7	26%	20	74%	27	100%	49%
Iringa	19	70%	8	30%	27	100%	50%

In Moshi, by 1999, only 51% of the urban houses had been constructed in planned areas (Mboya et al. 1999, p.17). The officers were not comfortable with the official view. 67% of the officers and 33% of the councillors interviewed wanted changes so that planning could start for affordable accommodation provided by the government in partnership with the private sector. The rest of the officers, 33%, agreed with the official position that there were no funds for such a project and considered it a bad idea for the government to be involved in housing. As shown in table 6.3 above, 49% of the housing in Moshi has been constructed in unplanned areas without essential services such as water, electricity, dispensaries etc. It is in such areas that the majority of residents live. In the research, 74% of the electorate respondents rejected the official argument completely and suggested that those officials who did not want changes in accommodation policies have houses which they are renting out, and thus there was a conflict of interest. This is a policy area where the council is failing to achieve its stated goal of servicing

enough land for people to build their own homes. It is so far from taking on board the residents' wishes that the municipality should intervene to build affordable accommodation that, in this respect, the goals of sustainable development are going to be even harder to achieve.

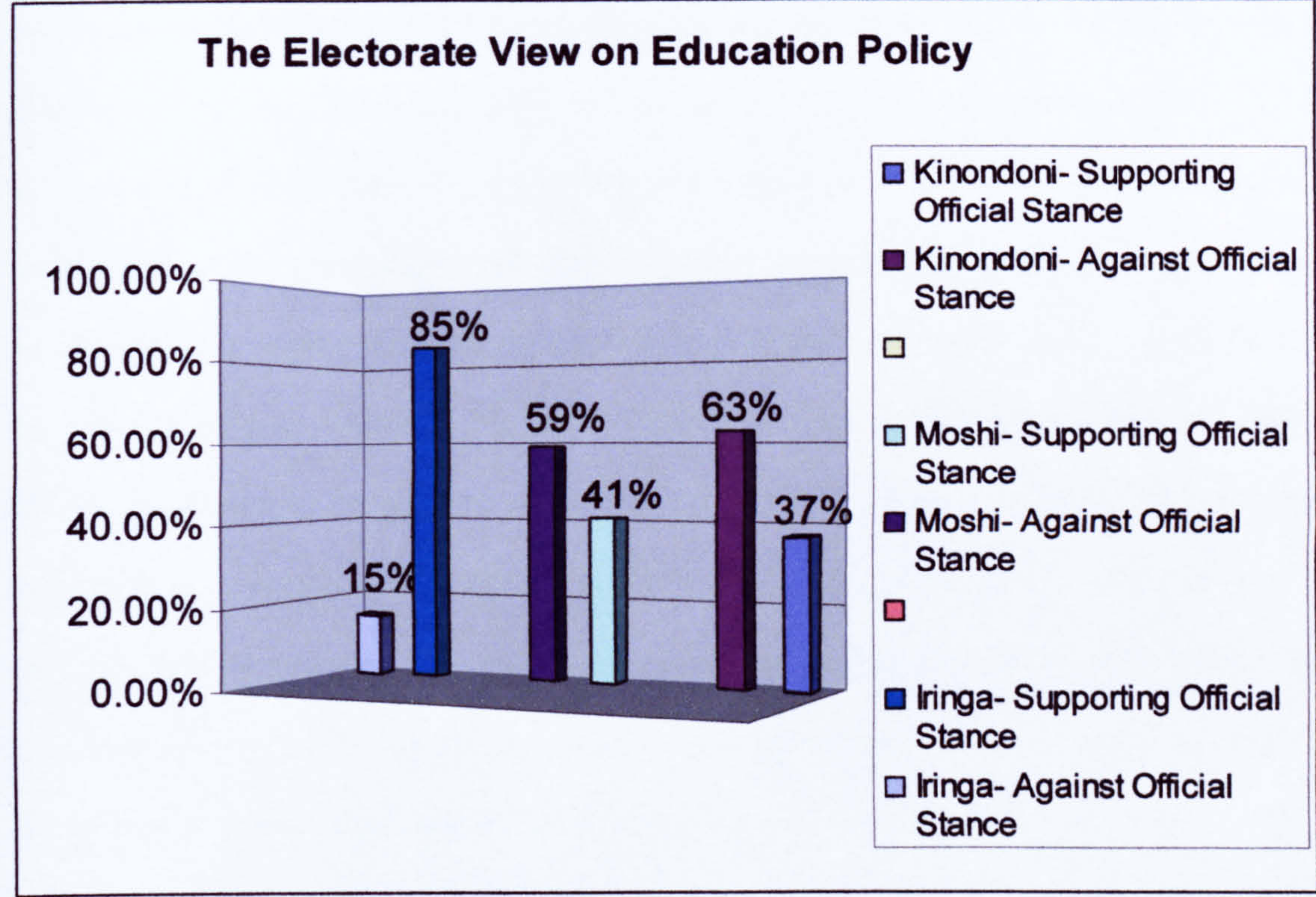
In Iringa 50% of the houses are in poor unplanned areas, a trend already seen in Dar and Moshi, which means that half of the housing units are in areas lacking basic services and sanitation. Here 83% of the officers and 67% of councillors were dissatisfied with the official position and insisted that changes were necessary in order to help the poor and reduce the problems associated with overcrowding and poor sanitation. On this issue, 70% of the electorate respondents supported the official line that there was no shortage of housing as such but there was shortage of standard accommodation and areas serviced for good housing. 30% argued that it was not the government's business to build houses for people to live in.

It is easy to understand why so many respondents in Kinondoni did not support the official stance with 70% of its population living in unplanned areas as indicated in Table 6.3 above, but Moshi which has the lowest percentage of people living in such areas also had a large proportion of respondents rejecting the policy. However following the study carefully one realises that the perception among the residents in Moshi was that the local government would not consider investing in accommodation because many of its officials were landlords who were protecting their profits. Such a perception, whether true or not, is yet another instance where, by increasing mistrust rather than forging partnerships for progress, the municipality has managed to turn many residents against its goals for sustainable development.

The view of education as a powerful transformative force that enables individuals to improve their living conditions and perspective of the development process has been one policy area that plays a major role in the sustainability discourse. In Kinondoni, of all the officers and councillors interviewed, 100% were satisfied with the amount of funding given to this department and the measures the government was taking to improve education. However, only 37% of the electorate respondents, as shown in figure 7.4 below, supported the official stance.

The rest, 63%, argued that changes were needed so that children focused on learning and the authority did not keep demanding money to construct ‘invisible’ classrooms. They argued that the municipal authority had not put enough emphasis on education. It would seem therefore that Kinondoni is missing out on the concept of transformative education as a vital tool for sustainable development. However, it must be stated that in reality more students are managing to go to secondary schools in Kinondoni than ever before. Also more are getting higher grades. That is why there was a unanimous agreement between the officers and councillors. In this policy area some progress has been made and the ambitions of the government are slowly being met. However, the expectations of many residents seem not to have been fulfilled, and the problem of the gap between perception and reality continues.

Figure 7.4: Electorate View on Education Policy in Kinondoni, Moshi and Iringa



Education was declared as being central to the process of development in Moshi and yet by the fact that it received only 18% of the development project funding the allocation does not seem to match the official position. All the officers and councillor interviewed argued against this low level of allocation and proposed that education should always be made priority which is

the only area on which there was agreement between all the officers and all the councillors in Moshi. In all other areas at least one or more had differing opinions from the rest. The electorate in Moshi agreed with the officers and councillors rather than with the official position. 59% argued against the proportion of the budget allocated to education claiming it should be greater, while the remaining 41% had no problems with it. Most respondents wanted standards in education to increase, and, just as it was in Kinondoni, they complained that they paid money for classrooms which took years to build. They were not happy with the general way the municipality ran its education department and wished more could be done to enable poor children to be retained in school and go on to higher education. This area was challenging to the officials and yet they did not change direction because of their commitment to fulfil an election pledge of investing in roads.

In Iringa, education received the highest amount of funding in the development project allocation of revenue. Unsurprisingly therefore, all the officers and councillors supported the official position while demanding more improvement in education standards and enrolment levels, to match the national average. The electorate's response was one of huge support for the policy. Everyone wanted their children to have a good future and this was seen to be found in the transformative education that offers skills for life. Thus, as indicated on figure 7.4 above, 85% of the electorate respondents supported the official position and choice to have major investment in education, while only 15% did not support the policy. The fact that enrolment to primary school was lower than the national average implies that the municipality still needed to do something to achieve its ambitious goals of sustainable development. Its plan was to target more funds on this problem area so that it would be possible to deliver the necessary changes to educate parents who delayed their children's enrolment and improve standards. The ability to communicate this message to the population, to identify problem areas and to act as soon as it was possible, increased popular support for the Iringa municipal council.

The sustainable development discourse takes into consideration the health of the people whose activity is meant to produce development in reality. That is why in urban development issues healthcare is considered to be one of the vital services that every community needs. In Kinondoni municipality, all the officers and councillors rejected the policy of cost-sharing for all, while admitting that the government did not have enough money to offer free healthcare for all. Their suggestion is that those well off members of the community should pay for healthcare while the poor should be subsidised. This would no doubt be complicated as it would involve means testing to find who would not qualify for the subsidy. These opinions were well received by the electorate respondents, 89% of whom also argued against the cost-sharing programme and saw it as a penalty against low income groups. Their view was that the inability to afford to pay for health care leaves many people too ill to engage in the productive sector and thus affects the economy negatively. As such it could be argued that it is not so viable economically in the long run.

Table 6.4: Electorates View on Healthcare Policy

Municipality	Supporting official view		Demanding change		Total	
Kinondoni	3	11%	24	89%	27	100%
Moshi	8	30%	19	70%	27	100%
Iringa	7	26%	20	74%	27	100%

In Moshi, 67% of the officers interviewed and 100% of the councillors wanted a change in the policy in order to allow free treatment to the urban poor. In this the officials struck accord with the popular opinion. Most of the electorate respondents, 70%, as indicated in the table above, argued against the official position. They pointed out that the idea that poor people should pay for medication in the same way as the rich do was hurting the majority of the urban people and was not helping in the process of development. Only 30% of the respondents were satisfied with the programme of charging for medical attention in Moshi. Because this is national policy, municipal councils do not have much room for manoeuvre. However, the

Community Health Fund Act of 2001 clearly indicates that municipal councils do have some room for manoeuvre to offer exemption from payment for those who need it, but they have in turn to find the means of paying the bill incurred. Neither Kinondoni nor Moshi seem as yet to have taken advantage of this possibility.

Iringa seems to be acting differently and appears to have taken advantage of this flexibility. Iringa has fewer medical facilities than either Kinondoni or Moshi, yet its healthcare programme seemed more organised and well monitored with free immunization and nutrition offered to children and women from low income families. However, 50% of the officers and 67% of the councillors still wanted changes in the way the scheme was run in order to extend the free vaccination and nutrition for the poor to full medical care for such groups. On the other hand 50% of the officers and 33% of the councillors interviewed were happy with the hospital charges as they currently stood. By contrast, 74% of electorate respondents wanted change as soon as possible to abolish cost-sharing altogether. In other words, the majority of the officials and the residents wanted the same thing, thus making the policy and approach more likely to change. Only 26% supported the official government position about the lack of funds with cost-sharing being the only economically viable solution to healthcare.

As noted above, with regard to healthcare all three municipalities expressed the need for improvement and the residents in each made similar complaints. However, on the question of HIV-AIDS, Kinondoni had the most fragmented approach while Moshi and Iringa have found clusters of NGOs helping to deal with this serious problem. It emerged from all the three areas that, although Central government is responsible for the formulation of general national policy, it has not developed a comprehensive AIDS strategy aimed at breaking the culture of silence and the fear of stigma. Yet this failure has been shown to contribute to a large extent to the spread of AIDS. The strategy that would begin with a prolonged intensive and extensive education programme to increase awareness has not yet been put in place. Other strategies on which Central government and local authorities could work together would include more routine

testing when being treated for serious illnesses, prosecution of irresponsible/wilful behaviour in spreading AIDS, and accurate statements of the primary cause of death on death certificates. Such actions would serve to increase the accuracy of statistics and would help communities to come to terms with the problem while keeping the level of awareness as high as possible. Kinondoni, Moshi and Iringa have all been hit hard by the prevalence of AIDS, but they have not yet managed to bring the epidemic under control, or even reduce its rapid spread in their local areas. This is a big challenge for the local authorities in all three areas, but one which cannot be avoided, and on which there is a great need for co-operative action between the local authorities and Central government. The trend of the disease is still upward for the whole nation and local actors have not been provided with all the information they need to prevent it spreading. However, Iringa has shown leadership in bringing together many institutions and stake holders with a multi-layered strategy for combating HIV-AIDS. Without finding a solution to this pandemic, sustainable development will remain a distant dream.

The three urban areas have adopted many policies to foster sustainable development but it is still debatable to what extent they have responded to local aspirations and focused on local communities. Using case studies for comparative purposes is normally intended to highlight differences. However it is equally important to note similarities in conditions that appear at first sight to be dissimilar. Let me illustrate one policy issue that shows up the differences between these areas, on the one hand, and a basic similarity on the other. The policy area chosen is public water supply. In 1999, Dar needed 90 million gallons of water per day. About 35% of the water that the city would be able to supply is lost. This raises questions about management, about good governance and indeed about the contribution of the Sustainable Dar Programme (SDP) that started in the 1990s. Unfortunately a very similar trend could be seen in the other two urban areas researched as table 6.5 below reveals. 50% of the officers and 67% of councillors interviewed at Kinondoni supported the official view that water shortages were caused by lack of funds to expand the source and to maintain the available old reservoirs and

pipes. 50% of the officers and 33% of councillors did not agree and thought the problem was caused by both shortage of funds and poor management including lack of the culture of maintenance. The latter point is what 81% of the electorate respondents, as shown in figure 7.5 below, supported against the official stance. They accused the authorities of colluding with the rich who were making lots of money selling water in the city. Only 19% argued in favour of the council’s excuse for not managing to deliver improvements in terms of water provision.

Table 6.5: Population, Housing and Water Supply in 1999

Year 1999/2000	Population in Millions	Annual Population growth rate	Water provided as a percentage of water required	Water lost as a percentage of water capacity
Dar City	2.40	4.3%	33%	35%
Moshi	0.14	3.5%	34%	53%
Iringa	0.10	1.5%	60%	40%
Tanzania	32.80	2.9%	-	-

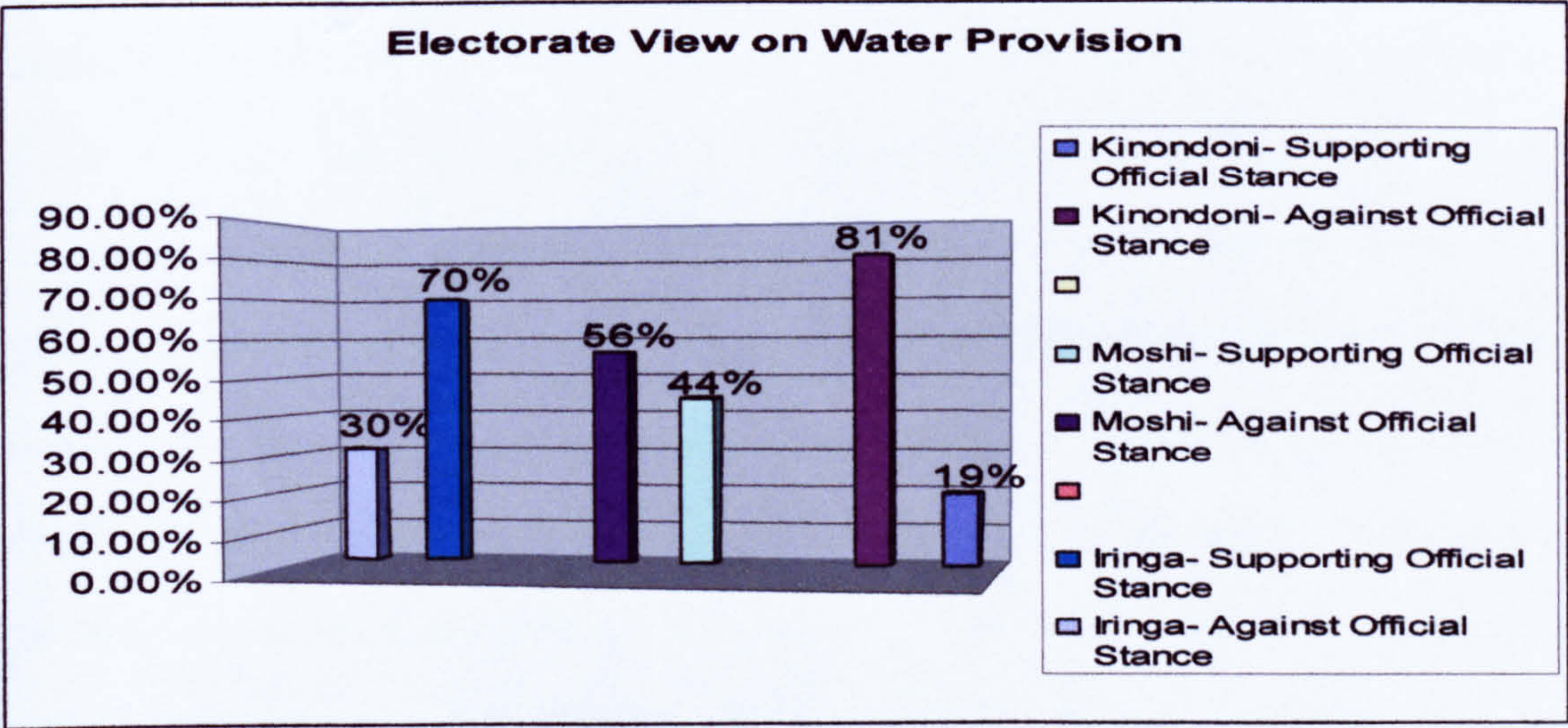
Sources: The percentages have been calculated using data obtained in the following sources.

1. *Tanzania Health Statistics Abstract*, 1999, pp. 159-161.
2. Dar City Commission: *Strategic Urban Development Planning*, 1999, p.23.
3. *Iringa Municipal Council: CSPD Performance Review Report*, 2000, pp. 5, &10
4. Mboya, A. et al, *Environmental Profile of Moshi*, 1999, pp.7-19.
5. *Fuko & Lubuva, Local Government Reform in Tanzania*, 1999, p.4.

Indeed the figures in table 7.5 above are very discouraging for those committed to building sustainable urban development. It is almost unimaginable to see that such high percentages of water would be lost given the fact that provision is in itself so much less than what is needed in Dar, Moshi and Iringa. The figures show the differences in the amount of water needed and that which is provided as well as the percentage that is wasted. Furthermore, they show that a lot needs to be done in terms of management, maintenance and in responding to the urban communities needs. It is also only in this policy area that a larger percentage of electorate respondents disagreed with official position in Iringa than in Moshi, while Kinondoni still had the largest number. The figures show a basic similarity shared by the three urban areas. That is, all of them have not managed to create the culture of maintenance without which resources are wasted.

Furthermore, as indicated in Table 6.5 above, Moshi has been losing about 53% of its total daily water provision through leakage, while its current capacity was only for the provision of 74% of the required amount (Mboya, et al. 1999, p. 19). This means that Moshi is only delivering 34 % of the required water supply, which puts it on a par with Dar/Kinondoni. In the case of Moshi, 83% of the officers and all the councillors interviewed, wanted change and did not support the official position claiming that all possible steps were being taken to improve the situation. They wanted the council to invest more in water provision. Strangely enough, as shown in figure 7.5 below, only 56% of the electorate respondents wanted the changes, while 44% were satisfied with the prevailing situation. As indicated in the table 6.5 above, Moshi not only provides a low percentage of water as a proportion of its needs, but it has also been losing a much higher percentage of its capacity than either Dar or Iringa. The question is why? It has emerged from the research that there is a combination of bottlenecks, including shortage of financial resources, poor management, absence of the culture of maintenance and poor policy priorities, which lack popular support, and participation. These problems have made the challenges of sustainability even more difficult for Moshi.

Figure 7.5: Electorate View on Water Provision in Kinondoni, Moshi and Iringa



According to Iringa municipal council the municipal capacity to provide water is 60% of the total amount of water needed by Iringa residents (Iringa Municipal Council, 2000, p.7). Of

the water provided, 40% was lost through leakage. No wonder, 83% of the officers and 100% of the councillors interviewed wanted change in the approach and policy on water provision. Again in this issue, the officials seems to have struck accord with the popular view because 70% of the electorate respondents, as indicated in figure 7.5 above, argued that major changes were needed to improve water provision in Iringa. Only 30% of the respondents did not see why everyone was fussing around the problem of water while they thought water provision was pretty good in the municipality . Iringa though does not provide an adequate explanation to show why so much water was lost through leakage or why the water system has not been repaired except for blaming the whole problem on lack of adequate funding and the old age of the whole water supply system in the municipality . As in Kinondoni and Moshi, management and monitoring of activities seems ineffective and despite the achievement in other areas, this is one policy issue where the authority have not managed to meet the needs of the majority of its residents and its own ambitious goals aiming at sustainable development.

7. 3 Participation in the Development Process

Participation, and reforms which are meant to increase the level of participation in the development process, has been a crucial part of the sustainable development discourse. All the three municipalities have made efforts to increase local communities’ involvement, but the level of their success varies. In Kinondoni, all the six officers interviewed supported the local government reforms and the formation of multiparty politics in the country. 100% of the councillors also supported the reforms though they thought that the process was too slow. However, only 22% of the electorate respondents, as indicated in the table below, supported the official view about the reforms. 56% did not support the reforms. They wanted change arguing that the reforms were not taking place and that giving such power to the council was giving the officials more opportunities for corruption, while a further 22% did not know about the reforms at all. When such an important government policy is met with so much disapproval, suspicion and lack of awareness, one wonders how the chosen goals of sustainable development are going

to be achieved. The reforms were meant to build a foundation upon which sustainable urban development was to be erected. Kinondoni’s record raises doubts about whether there is a political will to pursue this goal.

Table 6.6: Electorate Views on the Local Government Reforms

Municipality	Supporting official view		Demanding change		Do not know about loans		Total	
Kinondoni	6	22%	15	56%	6	22%	27	100%
Moshi	18	67%	4	15%	5	18%	27	100%
Iringa	20	74%	6	22%	1	4%	27	100%

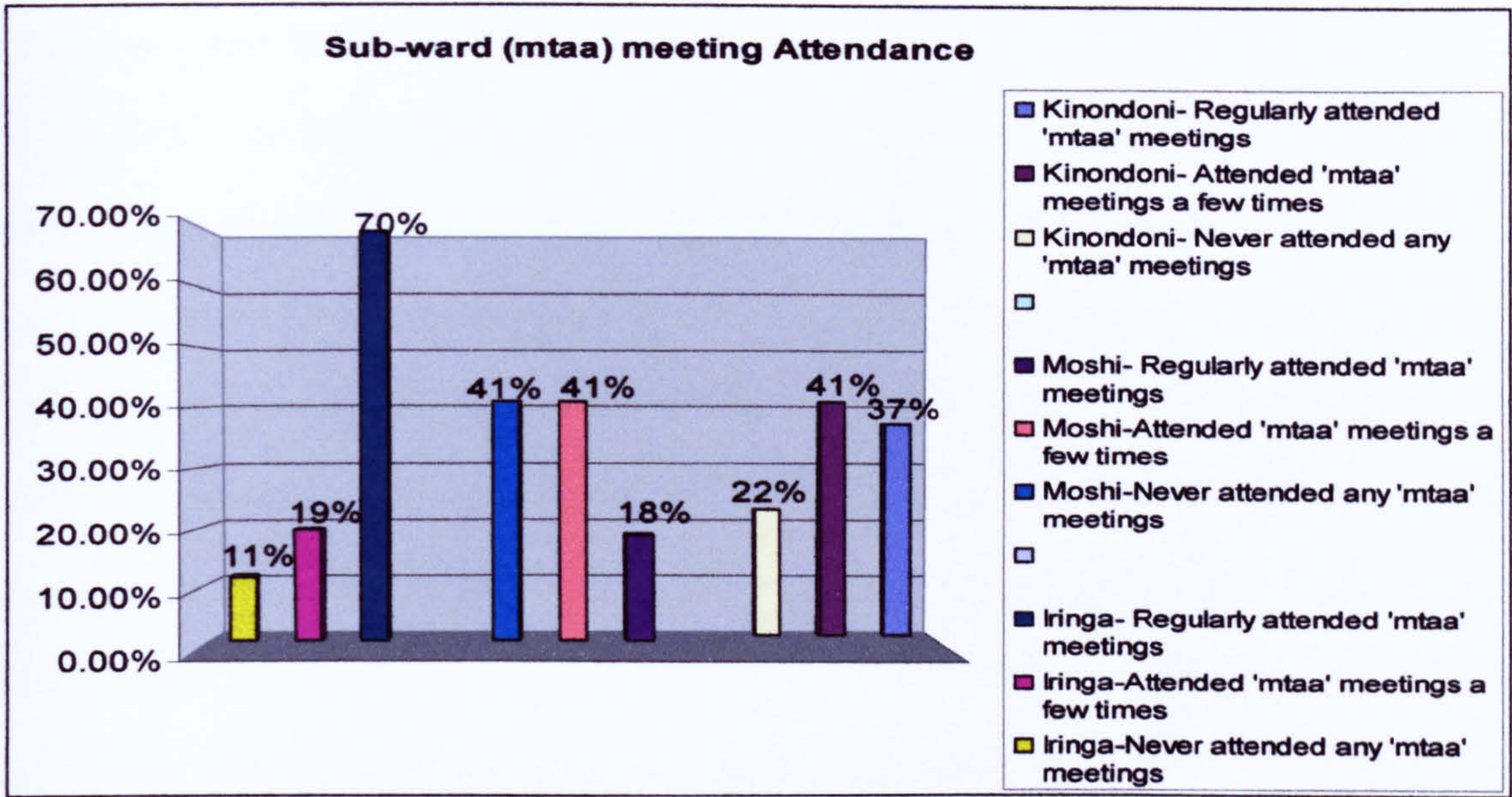
In Moshi, all the officers and councillors agreed that the reforms were working well and the implementation process was under way though not completed. The councillors saw the reforms as a triumph of the people, and themselves the elected members of the council, who were now becoming effectively the employers of the appointed officers. This is one of the rare issues in which the majority of Moshi residents supported the official position, to be precise, as indicated in the above table, 67% of the electorate respondents. However, 15% argued against the official line while 18% knew neither about the reforms nor what they were meant to achieve.

Iringa’s officials, both the appointed officers and the elected councillors, were in full support of the local government reform policy. Indeed the councillors preferred to have speeded the reforms up, but were still supporting the official position. This is the only matter in which all the officials in Kinondoni, Moshi and Iringa, were united in their support of a policy. However, that is where similarity ends, because in Iringa the electorate respondents were very much in support of the policy, as indeed they were in Moshi, but not at all in Kinondoni. In Iringa 74% of respondents were in favour of the official position while only 22% were against and the remaining 4% did not know about the reforms. Unlike in Moshi, where five people didn’t know about the reforms, the man in Iringa who didn’t know turned out to be a new arrival to the town. The research shows that policy which was meant to be the back bone of any sustainable urban development programme in Tanzania had a lot of popular support in Iringa

and Moshi, though not in Kinondoni. As Iringa has demonstrated, political will and a commitment to change daily practices involving the local communities at grass root level, at ward and 'mtaa' levels will be necessary if sustainable development is to be achieved.

One of the political policy areas that sought to increase participation of the local actors in the development process was the initiation of the 'working groups'. These were introduced as part of the sustainable development and local government reform programme for all the three municipalities. Each took a different route in implementing this policy and the reaction from the people varied from place to place. In Kinondoni for example, 100% of the officers supported the groups as they are and as they functioned, while 33% of the councillors wanted change in the composition of the groups in order to give voice to the poor who have lost out once more to the more educated and wealthy residents. The working groups were also intended to help increase participation in traditional institutions such as the 'mtaa' meetings as residents get used to contributing their ideas. In Kinondoni, as it turned out, participation was very poor indeed. In fact only 37% of the electorate respondents, as indicated in figure 7.6 below, said they attended meetings regularly and would support the official position about representation through the 'mtaa' and about the effectiveness of the working groups. 41% had attended some meetings but did not think there was any point doing so, because they believed their voices were not being heard or were not taken seriously, and a further 22% had never attended any meetings and professed that they saw no reason to do so. They seemed to have given up trying to influence decisions in their local communities and did not want to be part of whatever would be decided. Of course some of them may have been too busy or too tired to have the time, but that is not what they said when asked about their involvement. The research showed a deep sense of political apathy among many Kinondoni residents, which is not healthy for a council working towards sustainable development in a developing country such as Tanzania.

Figure 7.6: Attendance of ‘Mtaa’ Meetings in Kinondoni, Moshi and Iringa



Unlike Kinondoni, the officers interviewed in Moshi were sceptical about the role played by the working groups. Only 33% supported the groups as they were, while 67% wanted the groups to be reformed so that the poor might have a say in them. The same percentages applied for the councillors. A large number of the officials, therefore, did not support the official position that the groups were fine in terms of composition and performance. In other words, the officials in Moshi had realised the extent to which their people felt they were not being involved in the development process and therefore they wanted to introduce changes to the working groups, though not much was mentioned about the ‘mitaa’ and participation in them. Attendance in the ‘mitaa’ meetings was very poor in Moshi. As indicated in the figure above, only 18% attended meetings regularly, while 41% had attended a few times and a further 41% never attended nor intended to do so. In fact 59% of the electorate interviewees did not support the official position about working groups or the general political situation in Moshi. Many of the respondents did not want to have anything to do with the municipal council. They said they did not feel that there was a point trying to tell the official their ideas when they already knew they would not be listened to. This is a position far from the ideals of sustainable development

policy discourse and from the government expectation. In other words the ambitious plans about reforms and participation were not being met in Moshi.

In contrast to Moshi, but somehow like Kinondoni, almost all the officers interviewed in Iringa (83%), supported the working groups as the official position, asserting that they were doing a very good job and had helped to improve participation even in the 'mitaa' meetings. Only 17% suggested that the groups needed to be reformed in order to improve their composition and be more representative of the various social and income groups in Iringa. However, all the councillors interviewed were satisfied with the official view. In sharp contrast with both Kinondoni and Moshi, the electorate respondents in Iringa said that they were happy to take part in the 'mitaa' meetings and working groups because they were always taken seriously and their views respected. Given this experience, it was no wonder that 89% of the respondents supported the official position while only 11% did not. Among those who supported the official view, 70% attended meetings regularly and 18% had attended a few times but they still wanted to be part of the process. The only other feature raised in Iringa as a problem was that most women did not speak in meetings. When questioned on this they defended their position claiming they instructed their husbands to raise issues and talk on their behalf and attended the meetings to make sure their message was not altered.

In this respect Iringa was totally different from the other councils and its ambitious goals of increasing participation as a basis for building a sustainable form of development are actually being achieved. However, this was achieved through long consultation and great sensitivity to the Hehe culture that demands high respect for individuals in public and especially on issues of honour for the elders in the community. There are many known examples where individuals have responded violently either towards themselves or others when experiencing humiliation or disrespect. As mentioned previously, a regional commissioner was killed by a farmer in Iringa in the 1970s for such a cultural transgression, while in another instance a man committed suicide, being unable to cope with what he experienced as great humiliation, after being publicly

arrested by a female police officer. This cultural trait may have had an impact on the bureaucracies and in turn made them tread carefully with the local actors, treating them with respect in order not to provoke unwanted and possibly tragic reactions.

Officers and councillors in all the three areas argued that political representation was essential in building democratic accountability and thus they all supported the emergence and growth of a multiparty system in Tanzania. However, most of them argued that so far direct influence from the opposition parties had been minimal. At the same time they conceded that it has made them consider issues more carefully in order to avoid being embarrassed by the opposition and has brought greater political awareness among the residents. In Kinondoni for example, 81% of the electorate respondents, as demonstrated on the table below, said that the multiparty system was good for the nation. However, only 41% supported the official assertion that the residents were being properly represented while 59% thought that that was not the case. In other words they liked the multiparty system but did not like the way it was working at the time of this research. There is a contradiction in this in that they claim the party which has all the councillors in the municipality does not represent them adequately, yet they still vote for it. This may mean opposition parties have not yet made sufficient impact to alter voting trends or it may be indicative of the fact that people are voting for known councillors and individuals who are members of CCM rather than voting for the party as such. Furthermore it seems what Leys experienced among the Acholi in Uganda might apply here whereby the voters made rational choices to vote for those who will be in power (Leys, 1967, p. 101) The people stopped voting for the opposition parties simply because they wanted to be on the winning side, hoping that doing so would give them a chance of sharing the fruits of development. Ingle also experienced in Tanga, Tanzania, that the authority retained popular support through “distribution of personal favours” (Ingle, 1972, p. 118). Of course it is equally understandable that during election campaigns promises can be made by party leaders and councillors, which tempt people to vote for them. But if this is the case and they fail to fulfil such promises and thus lead to political

apathy and a sense of alienation from the process of development, they will jeopardise the possibility of sustainable urban progress.

Table 6.7: Electorate Views on Political Representation and Multiparty System

Municipality	Supporting official view		Demanding change		Supporting Multiparty System		No support to Multiparty System		Total	
Kinondoni	11	41%	16	59%	22	81%	5	19%	27	100%
Moshi	17	63%	10	37%	20	74%	7	26%	27	100%
Iringa	22	81%	5	19%	15	56%	12	44%	27	100%

In Moshi, 74% of the electorate respondents argued in support of the multiparty system as a good system enabling them to air their complaints and to challenge the incompetence of the ruling party. Similarly, 63% argued in support of the official position that Moshi residents were properly represented in the council by their councillors and the party. 37% did not agree with this position and argued that there were many things they had presented to their councillors and nothing happened as usual.

In Iringa, on the other hand, only 56% thought the multiparty system was very good for the municipality ’s development and for the nation. The rest argued that it was not a very important factor in the development process. For them what really mattered was that the local institutions work effectively, which is probably why 81% of the respondents claimed that they were being properly represented in the council and that their views were listened to by the authority. This demonstrates that understanding the importance of improving efficiency and acting with cultural sensitivity on the part of the municipal council has brought popular support. It has also increased political participation as well as incentives for accountability and effective representation. In this way Iringa seems to function as the ideal of Nyerere’s one party democracy where he saw the party as a “two-way all-weather road” (Nyerere, 1965, p. 157), where policies come from the government to the people and feedback goes back from them to the government through the use of the local government institutions. Because the residents are

interested and are asking questions about sustainable urban development, the representatives have to stay a step ahead, learning new things all the time and finding answers for the local communities. Such is the strong foundation that Iringa has built in the effort towards sustainable development in the municipality .

Conclusions

The issue of local communities' participation and political engagement in the process of development is central to the sustainability discourse and an essential aspect of the efforts made towards this goal. Their participation and involvement in political activities raised a number of interesting and critical questions during the study. In both Kinondoni and Moshi there was an extremely high degree of cynicism and alienation from political activity among the respondents from houses belonging to the low-income wards, petty traders and the other members of the local communities. There was an almost uniform expression of disappointment about the failure of the political system to deliver on its promises to the electorate. There was a firm belief that corruption and nepotism were the dominating factors that determined the distribution of resources such as loans and grants. Each new initiative or reform was described by many as yet another means by which money could be diverted into the pockets of those in a position to exploit them. Awareness of policies designed to help the poor was low, and participation in meetings and discussions on the use of these resources was also low which makes one wonder how the authorities are hoping to achieve sustainable urban development while the majority of the urban dwellers remain ignorant of what is supposed to be going on.

While there was evidence from the data that many of these complaints were grounded in real experience, as in the case of forced evictions from various centres where petty traders were operating, it was also clear that the cynicism and hopelessness of the electorate in the municipalities in Dar and Moshi was becoming a self-perpetuating dynamic impacting upon political and developmental sustainability. There was an unwillingness to see any good in the

political structures, and lethargy towards involvement and participation in local meetings and consultation processes that can only be described as political malaise.

Iringa municipality , on the other hand, presented a completely different situation. In Iringa there was a high level of political engagement and participation in meetings and discussions at all levels. There was a consistently positive view of the efforts of the local political structures to try to bring about positive change and sustainable improvement for the population. There was no suggestion that either corruption or nepotism played a part in loan programmes, for example. What criticisms there were focussed on the lack of resources and on the treatment of the municipality by Central government in relation to finance and other forms of developmental engagement and support for local initiatives. This consistently positive view from respondents was offered in the face of the facts identified in the study that the performance of Iringa municipality was far from perfect. There was evidence of situations in which the Iringa municipality has avoided taking action on a number of issues and had not delivered on their responsibilities.

However, the nub of the situation appeared to be the way in which the populace was handled in matters of revenue collection such as taxation and payment of rents for market sites, and also on planning issues such as reallocation of trading sites around the area. The Iringa respondents consistently reported that they had been treated with respect by the municipal officials and had been subject to careful and sympathetic handling in these areas. As a result they understood the reasons for the official action, even when it had reduced their business income or had been inconvenient. They had also been kept up to date with information and developments and felt involved and informed on these development policy matters. They were particularly appreciative of the door-to-door efforts of local councillors and the sub-ward 'mitaa' leaders in their attempts to keep everyone abreast of developments in the municipality .

This is in sharp contrast to the descriptions from the Kinondoni and Moshi respondents who have been the recipients of harsh, unsympathetic and sometimes brutal handling on matters

of revenue collection of taxes and market stall rents. They had also been badly treated with regard to relocation policies when they had been moved violently from their trading sites in response to changing municipal policies, without regard to their poverty or their hard earned property. Not surprisingly they felt alienated and did not want to be associated with the local government of which they had an almost uniformly negative view. The heavy handed practices of the municipal officials in the implementation of policies are thus a significant factor, and, while it is impossible to quantify the impact of this, there is no doubt that it is a major modifier in the expected goals of sustainable development.

One of the outstanding lessons to be learned from this thesis is that the policies for sustainable development will not be successful until the population is treated with consideration and respect in the implementation of such policies. With Iringa municipal council as the outstanding example of what can be achieved even with limited resources on the one hand, and, on the other side, the urban areas of Moshi and Kinondoni with unhappy residents and loss of trust due to the municipal council's mishandling of their populations in the implementation of policies, what conclusions can be drawn? Iringa has shown that a population shown respect and sympathetic fair treatment in matters that impact very directly upon their lives, such as revenue collection and allocation of resources, is more likely to be politically engaged and to participate in the political and development processes in their communities. They are also more likely to have a considered and favourable view of the political structure and institutions than those that are subjected to violence and bullying in the enforcement of social changes. And finally, they are more likely to have patience with the shortcomings of imperfect structures as they work to develop sustainable policies. However, perhaps the particular local culture and character of the population also plays a considerable part in shaping the behaviour of the local councils and officials in the implementation of their policies, for example, the particular sensitivity of the Hehe on matters of respect for individuals. While there may be some truth in this it is important

also to recognise the efforts the officials have made to contribute to the process of sustainable development as their own initiative rather than as a result of fear.

In summary, although Iringa was less successful in some service provision areas, because it is poorer than Kinondoni and Moshi, it succeeded in creating a harmonious political system with confident residents as stipulated by Vision 2025 and other policy documents. Iringa's success is rooted in a number of factors. First, the officials created a positive image and perception that they understood their residents' situation. They were approachable and respectful. Iringa's ambitious goals of increasing participation as a basis for building sustainable development are actually being achieved through long consultation and great sensitivity to the Hehe culture that demands high respect in public. Second, Iringa used the traditional institutions, the ward and sub-wards 'mitaa' effectively to communicate its policies and to get a feedback from the residents. This enabled the council to identify policy areas that were a priority to them and made a choice to respond and target investment proportionately in response to the community's needs so as to meet their expectation. Third it was able to use the issue of specific 'working groups' for the same purpose but also in order to improve communications and to encourage more residents to take part in the development process. Fourth, Iringa politicians did not make grand promises they could not keep, but rather modest ones they could manage to deliver and in that way increased trust in the municipality . Also having listened to the electorate's needs, they made promises that were popular yet necessary for development. Fifth, the municipal council presented itself as sympathetic to the residents' cause and showed a dislike of unpopular national policies such as healthcare cost-sharing just as much as the residents hated the policy, thus making the communities believe they are listened to and their ideas are important.

Iringa has thus demonstrated that political will and a commitment to change daily developmental practices involving the local communities at grass root level, at ward and 'mtaa' levels will be necessary if sustainable development is to be achieved. In this case therefore by

investing in efficiency and understanding the importance of cultural sensitivity by the municipal council has brought popular support and increased political participation as well as incentives for accountability and effective representation. Finally, a positive climate becomes self-perpetuating because, when the residents are interested and are asking questions about sustainable urban development, the representatives become keen to learn new things in order to stay a step ahead, and work all the harder to find answers and solutions to problems being experienced by their local communities.

8. Conclusions

A study of social reality is always challenging given its ever changing nature and the complexity of interactions whose outcome cannot be easily grasped in their fullness and meaning, let alone predicted. This thesis however has endeavoured to study the social reality of urban development in Tanzania and has sought to present a clear account of how this could be sustained in the country. In this way it attempts to answer the question: How could sustainable urban development be achieved in Tanzania? It has been established that sustainability is a complex concept full of meaning, nuances and interpretations from various scholars, development practitioners and planners, but one upon which it is difficult to establish consensus. Yet within its complexity lies the answers to difficult questions that development as a concept could not answer alone. The sustainable development discourse, initially concerned mainly with environment, in the last two decades, has taken a much broader perspective to include social, political, economic, cultural and even urban progress. It has been shown in this thesis that this is a specific view of development that can keep growing and adapting on a long term basis, meeting the local communities' aspirations and needs over generations. It is the kind of desired societal change that can be kept going, renewed and replicated over generations. As such it is a good starting point for studying urban development with its own complexity and constant changes, with new people joining the urban life thus increasing pressure over limited resources, a process that is taking place rapidly. Rapid urbanisation is a global phenomenon but

currently is occurring faster in the developing world, especially in Africa, including Tanzania, where the majority of citizens are still living in rural areas. The speed of urbanisation has not been met with a parallel increase in resources and infrastructure, and as a result, the incidence of urban poverty and decay, overcrowding and unhealthy settlements has become the norm in urban areas. Existing policies have been inadequate and unable to overcome the problems, and the local government structures ill placed to deal with this ever growing problem.

To elaborate how this complex reality can be dealt with and to explain how the study would be conducted a combination of research methods were used. While putting emphasis on critical discourse analysis in order to explain how the institutions and individuals within them interact with each other and with the residents, qualitative methods are used and are aided by quantitative techniques. These methods help one to understand and describe the actions, how and why these actions took place within the municipalities of Kinondoni, Moshi and Iringa. Here a presentation has been made of the respondents, the officers in each municipality , councillors, local opposition leaders, religious leaders, petty traders and other residents interviewed at home. It is these interview data that are used to analyse the interactions within the municipalities and to evaluate how the many development policies have been implemented and the impact this has had in the urban communities.

The thesis has established that Tanzania has had a varied approach to urban development policy. Soon after independence, a choice was made to make the local government more democratic in order to carry out development policies formulated by the Central government. However, within the first development plan, ideological choices for socialism and self reliance altered the dynamism of urban development in the country as the new focus became rural development. In the early 1970s, local government was abolished all together and this was followed by widespread urban decay and inability of the government to cope with the ever-increasing urbanisation and the resulting ever-expanding demand for social services. Thus, the government chose intervention measures to repatriate people to the rural areas. The policies did

not work, even after the restoration of local government. Unfortunately such policies have continued, though now in a form of eviction and relocation within the urban areas. Recently though, a proliferation of development policies has been produced in Tanzania, some overlapping in scope, short term and long term. They have all adopted sustainable development as part of the mission to improve the living conditions of urban dwellers in the country. The environmental policy which was inspired by Agenda 21 in particular has put sustainable development at the heart of urban development in Tanzania and demanded that all municipalities initiate Sustainable Development Projects which would then be integrated into the general functioning of the urban area. The Vision 2025 and LGRP and all other major policies have set as their main objective to improve the quality of life in Tanzania and to eradicate poverty. They are all very good and ambitious policies and yet for them to have the expected impact, the implementation process and methods used in it will influence the outcome.

This study has shown that Kinondoni is a newly formed municipal council and yet it has the benefits and problems associated with the economy of scale and proximity in the city of Dar. Kinondoni produced a very good mission statement with a comprehensive coverage of the sustainable development aspects, improving the living conditions of its residents, eradication of poverty, empowering local communities and involving them in the process of development. It stated that its institutions would carry out these objectives in practice and made a choice of development projects. The officials believed that they have been doing a good job and improvements were taking place. However the residents contested this claim and argued instead that they have been subjected to disrespect and harsh treatment by the officials as opposed to being empowered. Respondents also suggested that the council officials were corrupt and did not care about development, except for their own and putting money in their pockets. They also believed that the officials were in league with the rich to oppress the urban poor. There was no evidence of this and yet this perception alone has a significant bearing in eroding trust, thus making it harder to achieve sustainable development.

Moshi municipal council has advantage in being near Mount Kilimanjaro, has many entrepreneurs and set for itself a mission statement indicating that they have started learning and listening to their residents. It has been established that Moshi mission aimed at improving trust in order to generate more revenue. Increasing trust is necessary but if it is simply in order to generate revenue it is questionable. Moshi has many institutions and those are used to carry out development policies. Its choice of investing in road construction has been seen to be a political move in response to CCM's election manifesto. Moshi's officials believed they were on the right path, and the efforts they were making were producing the intended outcomes. This view was seriously contested by the residents, whose perception was of a corrupt and uncaring, incompetent and even described as a brutal administration. The residents did not think the municipality was doing well in implementing policies, for sustainable development. They believed to get anything from the council one had to be either a relative, able to give something to the officials or have connections. Again this claim could not be substantiated but the claim of harsh treatment to the petty traders has been well documented. Nevertheless, whether true or not, the political damage caused by this perception is just as high. This trend of poor implementation methods have affected the relationships so that many residents felt that since they do not have much to gain or lose they had better be left alone. They feel neglected, abandoned and left in the margins of the development process, contrary to the mission and the development Vision 2025.

Iringa is the smallest of the three municipalities and this issue of scale could have a bearing on how it conducts its affairs. The study has shown that Iringa municipal council has a weak economic base and is more dependent on the Central government for revenue, which makes its efforts for sustainable development harder to achieve. However the municipality has set itself a sound mission statement, indeed the only one with an explicit objective of improving the living conditions for its residents. It has been able to use both the traditional institutions such as wards and sub-wards to carry out its development projects and its choice to invest more in education

struck accord with the population. Iringa municipality has established harmonious working relationships amongst the officials without neglecting serious debate, and has done the same with the people to win popular support. In fact the official view was supported by an overwhelming majority of the respondents. Where the official view is not supported by the officials themselves, the population too did not support the view. It emerged that the municipality is very good at door-to-door visits to inform the residents about policies and to get the feedback. As such, the residents were contented and happy because the process of implementation of development has been encouraging, they feel they own the process and they want to be part of it. In terms of the multiparty system the majority seemed to think it does not matter what system is there as long as it delivers what they need. Thus CCM acting as a de-facto single party council is engaging the population with every possible opportunity to pass its message across. Iringa is thus a unique experience and has succeeded in creating a well functioning popular local government.

In comparing Kinondoni, Moshi and Iringa, it became clear that Iringa was poorer but unique in the method of implementation of development policy. While Kinondoni and Moshi were vigorously working to increase tax collection and were arresting those who were not complying, Iringa was working hard on building the foundational interpersonal relations with the people thus convincing them to pay tax. While Kinondoni and Moshi used force to evict petty traders to relocate them in new places, Iringa achieved the same through persuasion and implied threats that did not have to be carried out. It also used the traditional system of elders to reach out to the youth and make them comply with regulations. While Kinondoni and Moshi pursued their policies with minimum attention to communication leaving many residents without knowledge of the major policies, Iringa chose a door-to-door implementation policy so that it could reach out to all residents, and gain feedback from them. As a result it has been established that while the residents of Kinondoni and Moshi feel neglected, marginalised and disrespected, the opposite is the case in Iringa where the people seemed happy and supportive of

the municipal initiatives. In Kinondoni and Moshi, the residents have become apathetic, not attending meetings and generally ignoring politics altogether, while in Iringa they have become hungry for more participation at every level except that they do not see multiparty system as necessary for them to achieve their aspirations.

This study has established that so far, the local government reform has been using the rhetoric of a devolution model and has produced many development policies which are sound and laudable such as the LGRP, Vision 2025, NEP etc. However, in reality the government is still following de-concentration principles. As such, it is a model that is not promoting the autonomy of local government and therefore is denying the local authorities the possibility of forming a meaningful and progressive partnership of development. The balance of power is still such that the local government is extremely dependent on the centre for policy formulation, finance and vision. Lack of capacity, experience and technical expertise is debilitating the local government, making it ineffective not only in service provision but also in its efforts to achieve sustainable urban development. Lack of capacity is also preventing the civil societies from full participation in the policy formulation and in the development process.

The most important lesson therefore is that policies are essential but alone they are not sufficient for achieving sustainable development. The government needs to create the necessary conditions for the implementation process to take place without antagonising the residents and thus alienating them from the process. It therefore has to invest in educating the staff, both experienced and new ones in order to change the day-to-day practices. Second, establishing good working relationships, with cultural sensitivity and respect within the local government, and especially with the local population, must be made part of the development policy at every stage of implementation. Third, flexibility and innovative ideas of local leaders including the choice of door-to-door visits must be commended so that they have incentives to continue creating ways of enabling the community to take part in the development process. Fourth, the local government must be seen to be accountable, take the views of the urban population

seriously and be perceived to act on them, in order to create trust and sustain trust. It must give the people the knowledge of their duties and rights and the opportunity to exercise these rights and to fulfil their duties. Fifth, the politicians should not make grand promises they cannot keep, because that only helps to create apathy and frustration for the people, increasing mistrust and turning people away from government initiatives. Sixth, education should be treated as the most effective transformative force for the local communities and individuals in the country, thus more investment should go to research on how to improve standards and how to bring innovation and technological progress for sustainable urban development. Seventh, a comprehensive and extensive programme for combating HIV-AIDS should be put in place. Schools all over the country should be used as information centres and teachers educated on how to counsel victims and their families in order to remove the culture of silence. The government should consider introducing AIDS tests in hospitals whenever someone attends with serious illness and those who are caught spreading the pandemic intentionally, that is knowingly, should be prosecuted. Finally, this study has demonstrated that the issues of inequality and social justice can be addressed by the creation of sustainable social and political development, but only if there is the political will, at national and local levels, to work both separately and together to achieve it.

Research Questions

Residents

Personal details: Gender-----Age 17-24; 25-34; 35-44;
45-60.

Education _ _ _ _ _

- ❖ How do you think the municipality is performing in delivering services? _____
- ❖ How is the state of transportation here in _____
- ❖ Do you think the municipality is investing enough in transportation? If yes, why do you think so? _____ If no why? _____
- ❖ Were you born in this municipality? If yes, tell me about your experience of migration from the village or other urban areas _____
- ❖ How has the municipality managed resources such as funds, land, markets, etc? Very well (); Well (); Ok (); Poor (), Very poor ()
- ❖ Are you happy with taxation? If yes give reasons. If not give reasons? _____
- ❖ What is the status of your municipality? Does it help in terms of development? _____
- ❖ Do you know about the government's scheme of small scale loans? Tell me more about your experience. _____
- ❖ What is your opinion about the municipality's land allocation programme?

- ❖ Do you know about the local government reforms? Tell me your experience please

- ❖ Do you think you are being represented well by the municipal council? Why?

- ❖ Do you attend your mtaa meetings? How often? Why____ If no give reasons_____
- ❖ Do you think the municipality is accountable? Why do you think so? _____
- ❖ Is the council good at planning? How does it compare with the Central government?

- ❖ How is the council doing in terms of promoting education? Tell me about your experience_____
- ❖ What about healthcare? Are people having good healthcare here? Do you have any experience about HIV-AIDS? Tell me what you think about it.
- ❖ Do you think there is enough housing?_____ If Yes, Explain please!_____ If No, why__
- ❖ What is your opinion about availability of water? _____
- ❖ What do you think sustainable development is? _____
- ❖ What do you think could be done to solve the problems? _____
- ❖ What policy would you choose as top priority? _____

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